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A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY HAS BEEN DESIGNED TO PREDICT DROPOUT BEHAVIOR AMONG URBAN NEGRO BOYS WHO CONFRONT CONVENTIONAL HIGH SCHOOL PRESSURES. IT WAS HYPOTHESIZED THAT THE DETERMINING INDICATORS OF DROPOUT BEHAVIOR LIE WITHIN THE SOCIAL-PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIVIDUAL RATHER THAN IN THE SYSTEMATIZED, SOMETIMES HOSTILE DEMANDS IMPOSED UPON THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT BY THE SCHOOL TO WHICH HE CANNOT ADEQUATELY RESPOND OR ADJUST. THUS THE CHILD'S PRIOR PREPARATION FOR THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCE IS OF KEY IMPORTANCE. ATTENDANCE, GRADES, NUMBER OF RETAINMENTS, AND PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ACTIVITIES WERE IDENTIFIED AS THE CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENTS OF DROPOUT BEHAVIOR, OR "ATTENDANCE STATUS." IN TESTING THE VALIDITY OF THE HYPOTHESIZED MODEL, RESEARCH PERSONNEL FOUND THAT IQ, ACADEMIC TOOLS AND READINESS, SELF-IMAGE, PEER ADJUSTMENT, FAMILY AND COMMUNITY STATUS, FAMILY STRUCTURE, AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT WERE THE SOCIAL-CULTURAL VARIABLES AFFECTING ATTENDANCE STATUS. SIGNIFICANTLY, DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSES TO A COMMON SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT WERE ELICITED FROM SOCIOECONOMICALLY SIMILAR SUBJECTS. THUS, CONTRARY TO MOST SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT, SIMILAR ENVIRONMENTS DO NOT NECESSARILY CAUSE SIMILAR ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE AND INTRA-CLASS ACADEMIC DIFFERENCES DO EXIST. IN AN ATTEMPT TO TEST THE RELIABILITY OF THE PREDICTIVE INSTRUMENTS, IT WAS FOUND THAT SCHOOL RECORDS AND FAMILY STRUCTURE VARIABLES APPARENTLY PREDICT EARLY SCHOOL LEAVERS BETTER, AND THAT THE PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND PERSONAL-SOCIAL RELATIONS VARIABLES APPEAR TO PREDICT THE LATE LEAVERS BETTER. THESE FINDINGS MIGHT BE USED TO ESTABLISH CLINICAL METHODS OF DROPOUT COUNSELING. RELIABILITY TESTING NEEDS TO BE CONTINUED. TABLES ARE APPENDED. (LB)

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Project No. 2848
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By

HENRY ALLEN BULLOCK
PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY
TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY

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Texas Southern University

Houston, Texas

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upon which the development of sociograms was made. Without the help of each of these, tasks generated by the entire study would have been considerably more difficult if not impossible.

H. A. B.

PREFACE

This report results from a study of dropout behavior as manifested by the males within a selected population of the all-Negro high schools in a Southern city. Utilizing the many guidelines offered by previous scholars who have applied social science methods to the study of problems in American education, an attempt is made to develop a general sociological theory that will extend our understanding of these problems and to construct prognostic tools by which dropout behavior can be predicted.

The need for a sustained scientific interest in dropout behavior cannot be overstated. The boy who discontinues his education before completing high school is in trouble. Hardly does a report of this kind of behavior begin without some reference to the magnitude of the behavior's incidence, the strain it places upon the employment power of our economy, or the waste of human resources it inevitably fosters. One tends to worry about the contribution to our unemployable rate made by the large number of untrained youths who pour into our national labor force each year, or the many among them who carry into virtual oblivion fine potentialities that will probably never be more fully developed.

When perceived in light of the trend of our national life, the problem presents a threat that is even more serious. It projects the picture of a growing mass of unemployables and a corresponding society impaired by a persisting class of perennial dependents. In years past, particularly since mid-century, our society has made basic shifts that require a greater degree of intellectual development and technical knowledge on the part of the developing American. The Russian sputnik was lofted in 1957, carrying with it rising standards of American education and greater risks that some school youths would falter under the strain of more rigorous academic demands. The Educational Testing Service rose to its ascendancy in the area of college admissions; the College Entrance Examination Board became a major hurdle that many youngsters bound for college had to jump; and the natural sciences, especially mathematics, physics, and chemistry, became dominant elements of the high school curriculum. The entire American school system felt the effects of this change, and every school child, irrespective of his social position, found himself facing higher school requirements than he had faced in the past. We remember this change more readily because it came with a more sudden impact.

There are other shifts that, though coming with a more gradual force, impose a greater need for a child's continuation in school. Our national occupational pyramid has been gradually turning upside down as related to the proportional representation of workers utilized at various level of its hierarchical structure. Job opportunities requiring little skill or technical knowledge have been melting away--becoming obsolete--in contrast to the expanding trend experienced by those requiring a firm background in science, technology, and commerce. What these changes really mean is that the future of the potential Drop-out is growing darker. A child must meet more rigorous academic demands if he remains in school; he must meet more technical job demands if he drops out. To stay or withdraw has become for him a challenging dilemma.

Pressure upon the Negro boy has become greater still, made so by the shocking impact of recent changes in American race relations and the lingering effects of prior deprivations. Freedom movements like the Montgomery bus boycott, sit-ins, and voter registration demonstrations resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and effected a greater expansion of the Negro's opportunities. The equal opportunity society about which we dreamed in the past now stares at us from a future that appears not too distant. In doing so, however, it places a greater strain upon all children of racial and cultural minorities. Having been separate and apart from the general current of American culture, the Negro boy now faces a broader chasm which stands between him and these emerging opportunities, and thereby runs a greater risk of failure. Writing about him when the inadequacies of his cultural heritage are most exposed, and when so much is being done to correct the errors of the past, I have tried to develop a study whose generalizations will lead to a greater understanding of his problems and more useful guidelines for those who counsel with him.

Houston, Texas

Henry Allen Bullock

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THEORY AND RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The central idea of this research is that dropout behavior, growing out of the differential responses of children to their school environment, is a form of educational maladjustment experienced by those who encounter school demands in excess of their social-cultural preparations to meet them. Our methodological aims are to identify dropout behavior objectively and to design tools by which its occurrence can be predicted. The rest of this chapter is a justification for this position and a presentation of the theoretical model according to which it was tested.

It seems logical to begin the more specific task of predicting dropout behavior within the conceptual frame of an assumed relationship between social-cultural experiences and certain kinds of problems in American education. Evidence that such a relationship exists forces itself upon us through the more obvious compulsions inherent in the nature of human society generally and American society particularly. The social-cultural experience is a learning process through which any child grows to a mature adult. Its significance for personality development rests upon two important dimensions that Kimball Young and Raymond Mack have called cultural on the one hand and personal-social on the other.[1] Through a system of cultural conditioning as directed by socializing agents, a child learns the fundamental culture patterns of the society in which he lives, but incidentally encounters social experiences that influence his personality uniquely. Where formal education is involved, these experience patterns, operating at both the cultural and personal-social level, can be expected to vary among children and stimulate differential degrees of readiness for school participation and success.

Opportunities for such variations among American school children are quite numerous. Our system of residential segregation, for example, distributes families over our cities according to different kinds of spatial areas and causes children to grow up in different kinds of social worlds. Differences in economic class, religious faith, and ethnic identification function to shape different kinds of distributions of peoples and institutions, giving our cities a series of cultural areas whose economic qualities range "from the gold-coast to the slums." This kind of spatial arrangement is more than a mere collection of population aggregates; it is, to a significant degree, a complex of subcultures within which people develop differential strategies of adjustment, value-systems, and, in general, differential ways of life. Of even greater importance is the fact that the children who grow up in these areas often experience differential methods of socialization. That these methods influence the adequacy of a child's preparations for meeting school demands can be assumed; the kind of influence that brings about adequacy or inadequacy, however, must be identified; and the presence of adequacy in areas where inadequacy is expected must be explained.

There is a tendency, though not necessarily planned, for the larger American society to foster enculturation--the adjustment of children to standards corresponding to their primary social world--while rejecting the consequences that result from it. Relationships between sub-cultures are almost completely symbiotic, involving little meaningful communication at the personal level. Each sub-culture is left to grow like itself, and the people composing each very often become classified in the public mind as "better thans" or "less thans." Nevertheless, it is the larger culture that ever stands as the measure of people. As it grows more technological in nature, it tends to become more strongly reinforced by a patternization that compels conformity to middle-class values.[2] Our educational system, true to its traditional intent, serves as chief perpetuator of the middle-class form, and the school environment is continuously structured to require this kind of conformity.

It is at this point that the impact of the larger society upon American children is crucial. The kind of cultural conditioning and personal-social learning they experience while growing up in their residential areas can succeed or fail in preparing them for the demands they encounter at school. When the school becomes a place where the child fails to make adequate adjustment--fails to find proper role and anchorage--the pressure of failure can force his withdrawal to a role of setting within which he feels more adequate and secure.* Requirements of the larger society are unyielding--deaf to the voice of circumstance. Irrespective of the quality of the area or primary world in which he grows up, a child's educational destiny is shaped by the degree to which he has been socialized for adequate participation in a school environment that is basically patterned according to middle-class standards.

SOME EVALUATIONS OF RELATED RESEARCH

Researchers concerned with the application of social science methods to the understanding of problems of education have been quite conscious of this peculiarity of American society, and their findings offer more objective justification for an assumed relationship between social-cultural experiences and various aspects of a child's school career. Selecting variables according to their conceptual interests, they have managed to identify particular background characteristics of the social-cultural type that show significant relationships to the educational aspirations, school attendance, and academic achievement of American school children. For those who would attempt to develop a systematic theory capable of explaining dropout behavior, they have laid a broad foundation.

---

*The discontinuity between a child's experiences at home and school or at one school and another was postulated as a cause of academic retardation among disadvantaged youths by Lee Schulman in "Reconstruction of Educational Research," a paper presented at the Invitational Conference on Social Change and the Role of Behavioral Scientists, May 4-6, Atlanta, Georgia, 1966.

Nevertheless, important methodological problems have been left unsolved. Ignoring the American school child as a person, most researchers have attempted to explain his school behavior without regard for the interrelationship that inevitably exists between the school environment where the behavior is manifested and the complex of social-cultural experiences through which the behavior was shaped. In doing this, they have dangerously made the assumption that like environments, on the whole, produce like children. Following the objective interpretation of environment, and overlooking the psychological fact of differential response, they have disregarded the possibility of the existence of acculturating aspirations among "the less thans." Some of these scholars, employing undue particularism, have relied so heavily upon status variables that prediction from these variables in their present form is virtually impossible. The trend toward this kind of particularism seems to have been inspired by social class theorists. As early as 1944, W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, who were then making their famous studies concerning the American class system, published an important sociological work that presented some evidence of the impact of social status upon school attendance, curriculum, and teaching force in three small towns.[3] A. B. Hollingshead, reporting five years later, presented similar evidence in his study describing the manner in which the class system of a Mid-western community "organizes and controls the school behavior of the high school-aged adolescents reared in it."[4]

Soon after the appearance of these pioneering works, scholars began using status variables as sole determinants of a youth's response to various aspects of his school environment. Their findings resulted in the portrayal of lower-class children as being less inclined to seek an education, to remain in school, or to achieve satisfactorily while there.[5] It was not long before sociologists had developed the generalization that class determines a youth's degree of patience--the degree to which he is willing to postpone the immediate "good" for the ultimate "better." By this time, the practice of deferring one's gratifications had been attributed almost exclusively to middle and upper-class children, while impulse-following had been designated as a way of the lower-class.[6] Gage, accepting status variables as adequate prediction tools within themselves, confidently concluded: "To categorize youths according to the social position of their parents is to order them on the context of their participation and degree of success in the American education system. This has been so consistently confirmed by research that it now can be regarded as an empirical law."[7]

The freedom movement, with the accompanying interest of professional educators in disadvantaged children, intensified the use of status variables in the explanation of educational success.

Lower-class children came to be depicted as a special cultural type who see little value in formal academic routines; who become so exposed to rejection within the school environment that they develop hostile attitudes toward school authorities, and alienate themselves from teachers whose help they need most. It was to this problem that Frank Riessman[8] addressed his work in one apparently dedicated effort to create a handbook which teachers of the disadvantaged may find useful in their attempts to help this kind of school child.

Despite these findings, however, the conceptual assumption that social status and school participation are sufficiently related to predict the latter by means of the former feeds a high risk into a research design. Status variables, where taken singly and outside the context of a child's primary world, seem unable to explain "success" under conditions that predict "failure" or to account for failures under conditions that predict success.

Almost simultaneous with the development of the social class approach, a gradual accumulation of evidence revealing its inadequacy for prediction purposes was begun. Here and there within the literature of education and sociology evidence of the differential socialization of children even within the same social class or ethnic group began to appear. Joseph A. Kahl warned us of these intra-class differences soon after the turn of mid-century. In his investigation of the educational aspirations of high school boys who were similar in background and intelligence level--"common man boys," he called them--his interviews disclosed that although there was a general way of life that identified the common class, some members were content with that way of life and others were not.[9]

Evidence of the instability of class variables in the educational aspirations of American school children continued to pile up in social science literature. Allan B. Wilson, studying such aspirations in different high school climates hypothesized that the values of the bulk of the students in a high school provide a significant normative reference influencing the values of individuals within the school. His field evidence validated his hypothesis. In doing so, however, it showed that the percentage of lower-class or manual labor boys aspiring to go to college increased with an increase in the class of school attended. Lower-class boys attending schools dominantly populated by middle and upper-class children tended to aspire like the bulk of the students. This pattern prevailed under conditions where the educational level of fathers and mothers was held constant.[10] What we seem to have here is a replacement of the concept "like class, like child" with the concept of "like identification, like child." One could say that Joseph Himes' work with Negro teen-age cultures suggests the same kind of conceptual replacement. Showing the instability of status factors within ethnicity, Himes observed that "high prestige teenagers and, to a lesser degree, the upward mobile lower prestige ones, enjoy wider cultural experiences, a condition of long-range aspirations, and a less acute sense of racial entrapment."[11] As Oscar Lewis stated, one should distinguish sharply between impoverishment and "the culture of poverty."[12] Not all people who are poor or without prestige are culturally deprived or devoid of the urge to achieve. There seem to be other factors at work in the total context of a child's social-cultural experiences, and they must be considered if the prediction of school participation or success is to be accurate.

The atomistic approach that has characterized some studies marks another point at which prediction has been made difficult. Although scholars concerned with Drop-outs have employed a greater number of variables--relying not solely upon those of the status variety--they have neither derived them or handled them in such a manner as to make reasonable prediction as to a child's school career. Conceptually removing subjects from their environment, they have freely associated selected characteristics of the pupils with isolated elements of their school life, making little choice of the sensitivity of their independent variables for predicting responses to school demands. Some characteristics necessarily weigh more heavily than others in their power to determine a child's response, and the more weighty ones certainly can be overlooked where selections are made solely on the basis of the significance of association and without some test of the strength of the existing relationship. This is just another way of saying that statistical significance and sociological significance can be two different things.

Other researchers, also attempting to find factors that distinguish sharply between Drop-outs and graduates, have been too narrow in their selections. They have relied almost solely upon differences in the mental abilities and demographic characteristics of the pupils whom they studied.[13] Too, there has been some reluctance to control variables in testing their association with school attendance. This, in turn, has increased the likelihood of ignoring many factors masked by the methodology. Joseph C. Bledsoe's work is an example in point.[14] In correlating a variety of factors with student withdrawal from school, he made no test to observe the interaction of these factors or to weigh their strength as related to each other.

However, as with responses to the class and particularistic approaches, a recognition of these inadequacies has been consistently showing up in dropout studies. Neal Gross called attention to them when he warned educators against over-generalizing the findings of studies based upon isolated variables. "Too frequently," he advised, "research in this area fails to meet the scientific necessity of stating the conditions under which the demonstrated relationships hold."[15] After reviewing the literature on Dropouts published prior to 1958, R. A. and L. M. Tesseneer suggested a need for methodological changes. Concluding that there are many factors contributing to a child's dropping out of high school, they very timely observed that the problem is still complicated by the fact that some of these factors influence different pupils in different ways and even affect the same pupils in different ways at different times.[16] These considerations have been included somewhat in studies of Dropouts published since 1960,[17] and appear to be rather firmly planted in those now in their developmental stage.[18]

Although useful in suggesting characteristics likely to be associated with a child's participation or success in school, studies developed so far, including those concerning Dropouts have largely failed to provide factors that can be relied upon to predict dropout behavior. They have been based too freely upon the assumption that families of similar social or ethnic classes rear their children generally according to the same standards; and they have ignored the possibility that a child's school behavior results from an experience syndrome that joins school expectations and social-cultural background into a configurational context. Identified through an atomistic methodology, factors employed in such studies have been treated without regard for their possible interrelationships, and have been isolated from the configurational setting within which dropout behavior seems to occur.

A THEORY OF DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

Viewing school children as persons shaped by earlier social-cultural experiences and sensitive to the strength of a backlog of support supplied by their primary world, we have sought to predict dropout behavior within the general framework of educational maladjustment. The maladjustment is conceived to be expressed by the differential responses manifested by children when they encounter school demands in excess of their preparations for meeting them.

Theoretically, therefore, dropout behavior is assumed to originate with the risks that are inadvertently created by the system of conformity socialization so characteristic of American society. What a person must know or become in order to function as a competent member of our society is determined more by the individual's socializers than by the individual himself. The socializing agent relies heavily upon intrinsic rewards of approval, and a child is expected to be governed by external incentives in dealing with his world. Therefore, competence in our modern industrial culture requires a common set of qualities presumably developed by the socialization process. No child, irrespective of kind or class, can avoid these requirements. Of course the child's potential creativity may be limited by the process, and social competency, in many instances, may be reduced to sheer conformity.[19] Nevertheless, competency in American life is toned with cultural and situational specificities with which every American child must come to terms sooner or later.

Under the influence of our concept of universal education, the socialization process continues beyond the informal level (that expressed through contact with family, neighbors, and peers) into the more formal zone of our institutional life, where the public interest or welfare becomes involved. In this is our national creed: "For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield maximum satisfaction."[20] Conformity, however, is nontheless imposed, for our society uses its educational system to induct persons into itself in ways that meet its needs. It is through this public involvement, which occurs early in the developmental history of a child, that conformity socialization, toned by compulsory upmobility, derives its sanction. It is out of the companionable matrices of societal and school expectations that the pressure of a school environment originates.

All of our children are not adequately prepared to meet these terms. Some won't; others can't. The number of young Americans who are becoming disaffected from the dominant society is growing larger each day. As Paul Goodman reported, "the young men are Angry and Beat. The boys are Juvenile Delinquents."[21] The adolescent, falling victim to a "hostile social process," occasionally fights back and suffers the consequences of having transgressed.[22] He, too, joins the rebel brigade of what could become a Rebellious Society. Of greater significance for this research, however, is the larger group of American youths who do not question our system of conformity socialization, but have trouble with it nevertheless. These are the ones whose developmental experiences and personal anchorages have failed to provide the social and educational competence that our larger society makes so essential for movement to new statuses and the elaboration of new roles.

The model is a simple one. Each American child who enters school finds himself in an arena of pressure expectations. Each, too, can be expected to carry some kind of preparation for dealing with this pressure. The responses each makes to this stimulus situation that is highly personal in nature become differentiated as related to his preparation. Where this preparation is adequate, a child can be expected to meet the demands of his school environment with enough efficiency to avoid the tensions of maladjustment and the accompanying symptoms of dropout behavior. Where it is not adequate, one can predict that he will experience educational maladjustment and subsequent withdrawal from school. A child's educational destiny is shaped by prior conditions that prevail long before he enters high school.

It was our aim to test the validity of these theoretical considerations through a series of pertinent hypotheses. The hypotheses are listed below:

1. That Stay-ins and Drop-outs will be found to constitute two different types of populations who manifest their differences by making differential responses to a common set of school demands;

2. That these responses will define dropout behavior in terms of overt expressions found in a child's school record;

3. That members of the Drop-out population will be found to express dropout behavior, as defined, to a significantly higher degree than Stay-ins;

4. That differential responses resulting in the expression of a higher degree of dropout behavior will persist through differences in socio-economic characteristics, and will show a greater sensitivity to conditions of prior preparation for the school experience as represented by degrees of parental involvement in a boy's educational career, and the kind of personal-social relations he maintains with his peers;

5. And that the strength of these conditions will reflect itself in differences in their power to predict dropout behavior as measured through variables derived from home status, intellectual tools, parental involvement, and personal-social relations.

The test has been centered around the operational qualities of several basic concepts: Stay-in and Drop-out population types, the pressure of school demands, differential response, dropout behavior, and individual preparation. Stay-ins and Drop-outs were gleaned from a general population composed by all Negro boys who registered in a Houston junior high school at Low 7th grade in September 1958. Stay-ins were defined as those of this registration who remained in school to graduate in the Spring of 1964 or in August of that year. The remainder of the registration, boys who did not continue their education in any school during this period, were defined as Drop-outs. In our use of the term "demands of the school environment," the school is assumed to be an authority institution whose authority structure is really a product of decision-making rights and opportunities that are distributed among school officials and made to affect the behavior of students.[23] Demands of the school environment, therefore, become a system of expectations imposed upon pupils by the authority structure of their school. They are assumed to be the usual expectations that originate from both formal and informal levels of authority--from administrative officials, teachers, and pupil's school peers. In terms of content, the expectations include compliance with school rules of attendance; evidence of satisfactory academic progress; adherence to rules of conduct imposed by school officials and teachers; and personal involvement in the life of the school. Differential response is the behavior that the boy manifests as a result of meeting his school environment. Highly personal in nature, it is thought to be a boy's inner readiness to meet school demands as expressed through the precedence of the strengths of his preparation over the weaknesses, or to withdraw from these demands--to express dropout behavior--as expressed through the precedence of his weaknesses over his strength.*

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*This interpretation of differential response has grown out of the application of "differential association" to the study of crime and delinquency. See: Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955) pp. 80, 223; Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960) pp. 74-80.

Dropout behavior, used here as the dependent variable, is not defined as an "either-or" form of pupil response--either with withdrawing or not withdrawing from high school before graduating. To the contrary, it is conceived as a complex of responses that generally symbolize withdrawal from school authority, and particularly expresses itself in irregular school attendance, low grades, persistent retainments, and lack of participation in school activities. It is interpreted as a child's way of expressing his maladjustment at school and an indication of his degree of tolerance for the pressure of expectations that his school imposes upon him.

A child's readiness for meeting these expectations--his preparation for meeting the demands of his school environment--are thought to rest within the child himself and throughout his world of primary relations. The internal dimension of readiness is seen to rest not only with a child's intellectual qualifications for doing satisfactory work at his grade level, but also with a complex of experiences and characteristics as related to the kind of person he has become. Basically, such experiences are motivational orientations that tend to grow out of training in regulation, self-reliance, need-achievement, and self-imagery. The external dimension of a boy's readiness is based upon the degreee to which his parents or significant others were involved in his educational career; patterns of his peer contacts as they impinged upon the career; and the status position of his family as it related to his sense of worth and educational obligations. More generally, this external dimension is used to reflect the presence or absence of a backlog of support that serves a boy who is experiencing the pressures of his school environment.

PROCEDURES OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A prediction of dropout behavior has been made to hang upon the various social-cultural experiences that seem directly responsible for preparing a child to meet school demands. Characteristic indicators of these experiences, called factors, have been identified according to the significance and degree of their relationship to various levels of dropout behavior. The interactions of these factors have been observed, their configurational patterns delineated, and their power to predict the dropout behavior of a field population has been assessed through the prognostic tables they were made to constitute.

The general procedure was, first, to identify the study population. An inventory was taken of the school record of every boy who entered a Houston Negro junior high school at the low-seventh grade in 1958,* and the record was followed through the boy's entire period in school.

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*No school integration had begun in Houston, Texas at this time.

For sake of objectifying dropout behavior, the study population was dichotomized into boys who discontinued high school before graduating and those who remained to graduate or continued in school through August 1964. The former was designated as Stay-ins; the latter as Drop-outs. Placing these two population types under the general heading of "Attendance Status," the significance and degree of association between them and strategic elements of each boy's school record was computed. The Chi-square value was used as a test of significance of relationship, and the Index of Predictive Association (called Lambda for nominal data) was employed as a measure of associational strength between attendance status, then taken as the dependent variable, and each element of the school record. Four elements emerged as the best predictors of attendance status: (1) the average number of days a boy attended school each semester he was enrolled; (2) the average grade he achieved each semester; (3) the number of times he was retained while enrolled; and (4) the number of school activities in which he participated during his high school career. Since these elements emerged as reliable factors through which we could predict how likely a boy was to withdraw from school before finishing, we accepted them as indicators of dropout behavior and the phenomena to be predicted. Two reasons prompted this choice; the dropout phenomenon was thereby placed in behavioral form; and the problem of predicting it early enough to abort its development was methodologically imposed. The former was required by our theoretical model; the latter by the compulsions of practical considerations.

The variables through which the prediction of dropout behavior was attempted originated out of selected field data. Through the use of a battery of field schedules,* in which the boy and his parents were interviewed separately, a complete survey of the primary and secondary aspects of each child's social-cultural matrix was made. The survey included areal characteristics of each boy's immediate community setting; facts pertaining to his home status; methods by which he had been given early training; the degree to which his parents had been involved in his educational career; how he conceived himself and his future, and the patterns of peer contacts he had sustained. Each boy was located so as to determine his attendance status, although he might have moved to another school district.

With these data constituting a case study of each boy, a case analysis was made so as to reveal the configuration of case factors to which the boy's degree of dropout behavior appeared most sensitive. Factors surviving this test were formed into variables and grouped according to the following data fields:

1. School record, including only test scores and age on entry to junior high school.**

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*See Appendix A for examples of Schedules.

**Of course records of attendance, grades, retainments, and school activities were secured so as to objectify the concept of dropout behavior.

2. Home and community status: educational level of parents, occupational level of father, employment status of mother, and source of income; socio-economic characteristics of the city block in which each boy lived.
3. Parental involvement in the boy's educational career.
4. The boy's personal-social relations, including indicators of his self-image and aspirations.

Variables of these fields were divided into main and sub-categories and treated as independents in a simple contingency model through which the significance and degree of their association with dropout behavior could be computed. Again using Chi-square values and the Lambda, the most effective variables were selected. Some economy in this regard was effected through cluster analysis.[24]

Variables having the highest degree of relationship to Attendance Status were utilized to construct prediction tables for each of the data fields by means of the proportional representation of Drop-outs and Stay-ins falling in each sub-category.[25] The percentage of Drop-outs falling in each sub-category was used as a weighted failure score, and the summation of the lowest such scores in the various sub-categories defined the lower limit of a total score range while that of the highest defined the upper. Class intervals were established within the range of failure scores to secure the score scale.

Each boy in the study population was scored on the various categories composing each data field and given total weighted failure scores as based upon the summation of his individual scores. He was placed in the class interval required by his total score and grouped as to whether he was a Drop-out or Stay-in. On the basis of the resulting number of Drop-outs and Stay-ins falling in each score class, percentages were developed showing the number of chances per 100 risked by a boy scoring in a given class. Five tables were constructed this way; four from each of the data fields and one that was a composite, representing the major category yielding the highest index of predictive association in each field. Using this same model, prediction tables were also constructed according to different combinations of the respective variables in an effort to accommodate the uniqueness that frequently appeared in the configurational pattern of some cases. All of these tables were designed to predict Attendance Status. The procedure was repeated for dichotomized classes as based upon elements of dropout behavior. Tables resulting from this effort served to predict each element.

The validity of the various tables was field-tested. A sample of Negro junior high school boys who registered in the low-seventh grade September 1965 was drawn from each school by means of a table of random numbers. These boys were surveyed and scored according to the weighted values of sub-categories composing the prediction tables. Predictions involving the four elements of dropout behavior were made in advance and validated by what each boy had done by the end of March 1967. The main objective here was to determine which tables would not only separate Stay-ins and Drop-outs or identify boys in terms of the various elements of dropout behavior, but would also, through the elements of a boy's developing school record, signal that a complete withdrawal from school was in the making.

We realize, of course, that a research undertaking of this kind risks encounter with many pitfalls. We feel obligated to warn the reader about them. We needed both the qualitative character of a boy's case development and the quantitative character of his case factors. In attempting to comply with these compelling needs, one might have been somewhat sacrificed for the other. There is always the risk of killing the whole, once one begins examining the parts of which it is composed. In our attempt to objectify dropout behavior, we might have veered too far in the direction of circular thinking. This, too, is always a risk that one encounters when he attempts the transformation of behavior to measurable forms. All facts pertaining to childrearing methods and early socialization were based upon recall--the memory of parents or parent surrogates. As with other studies using this method, there will be left the wonder as to whether the more time-consuming developmental approach would have yielded different results. These, naturally are not all of the points at which the ice is thin. We hope, however, they are the points where it is thinnest.

NOTES

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION: THEORY AND RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Kimball Young and Raymond Mack, Sociology and Social Life (New York: American Book Company, 1965) pp. 90-91.

2. See: Paul Tillich, "Conformity," in Keith Davis and William G. Scott, Readings in Human Relations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964) pp. 418-419.

3. W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havinghurst, and Martin Loeb, Who Shall be Educated (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

4. August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949).

5. See: H. P. Smith, "A Study of the Selective Characteristics of American Secondary Education: Participation in School Activities as Conditioned by Socio-economic Status and Other Factors," Journal of Educational Research, 36 (1945) 229-246; C. Arnold Anderson, "Social Class Differentials in the Schooling of Youths within the Region and Community-size Groups of the United States," Social Forces, 25 (May 1947) 434-440; James S. Davie, "Social Class Factors in School Attendance," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer 1953) 175-185; and Jackson Toby, "Orientation to Education as a Factor in School Maladjustment of Lower Class Children," Social Forces, 35 (March 1957) 259-266.

6. See: Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review, 18 (April 1953) 142-149; and Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21 (April 1956) 203-211.

7. N. L. Gage, Handbook of Research in Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963) pp. 738-740.

8. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

9. Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man Boys,'" Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer 1953) 186-203.

10. Allan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspiration of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 24 (December 1959) 836-845.

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12. Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Trans-action (November 1963) 17-19.

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14. Joseph C. Bledsoe, "An Investigation of Six Correlates of Student Withdrawal from High School," Journal of Educational Research, 53 (September 1959) 3-6.

15. Neal Gross, "A Critique of Social Class Structure and American Education," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Fall 1953) 298-329.

16. R. A. and L. M. Tesseneer, "Review of the Literature of School Dropouts," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 42 (May-December 1958) 141-153.

17. See: Solomon Lichter, Elsie B. Rapien, Frances M. Seibert, and Morris A. Sklansky, The Drop-outs (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962) and Lucius F. Cervantes, The Dropout: Causes and Cures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965).

18. An example may be seen in Gerald Lesser and Robert Abelson, A Proposal to Study High School Dropouts (Made available through the courtesy of the senior author).

19. See: M. Brewster Smith, "Socialization for Competence," Items, 19 (June 1965) p. 18, where Alex Inkeles is reported to view conformity as the proper end of socialization in contrast to Robert W. White's position which attributes to it a stultifying effect.

20. "Children's Charter," White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, as quoted in Educational Policies Commission, The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, 1938) p. 1.

21. Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Random House, 1960) p. 11.

22. Edgar Z. Friedenberg, The Vanishing Adolescent (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) p. 13.

23. This interpretation is partly based upon a concept of "authority structure" presented in Robin Dubin, The World of Work (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1958) p. 42.

24. For this index of predictive association, see L. A. Goodman and W. K. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross-Classifications," Journal of the American Statistical Association, 49 (1954) 732-764. The method of cluster analysis employed to avoid the duplication of factors was suggested in John Gray Peatman, Descriptive and Sampling Statistics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947) pp. 493-501.

25. For researchers who have previously employed this method, see: A. A. Bruce, et. al., Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence (Springfield, Illinois: Superintendent of Public Documents, 1928) pp. 205-268 and Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950) pp. 259-267.

CHAPTER II

DROPOUT BEHAVIOR IN THE NEGRO GHETTO

Dropout behavior derives from a selective process that is set in motion by the differential responses of pupils to the demands of their school environment. All children have not been equally prepared by prior social-cultural conditioning or a backlog of acculturating support to cope with the requirements that school imposes upon them, and they manifest this inequality through varying degrees of conformity to school expectations. Where these expectations are designed to involve the pupil in his own educational career and the general life of the school, his degree of conformity expresses itself through patterns of response that become classifiable in terms of "dropout" and "stay-in" behavior.

Apparently this is so because behavior results from a kind of psychological selectivity that alters the sensory input of an environmental force. When children are exposed to school situations, each child tends to perceive these situations within the framework set by his own internal background, and may therby respond to them in ways different from the responses of others who, though caught in the same situation, have a different background for it. Differential response is the basic element of dropout behavior. All other elements are generic to it.

This kind of theoretical consideration, which is so consistent with experimental evidence, seems to be of great methodological value. It places dropout behavior within the same conceptual framework as that employed to explain other forms of human behavior, and renders this kind of withdrawal response more susceptible to prediction. One of the most important peculiarities of human behavior, particularly as related to prediction problems, is the uniqueness with which it can occur. Individual responses to objectively common stimuli can be expected to differ according to the kind of experiences afforded one by his social-cultural background.[1] In its real essence, therefore, a stimulus situation can actually become different for different individuals, since response to it results from a form of psychological structuring in which the interplay of internal and external factors is meaningfully involved. When we observe dropout behavior, what we are really looking at are some basic differences that have been shaped in two different kinds of persons.

This was the first theoretical generalization to come into focus when, through *ex post facto* methods, we exposed a complete generation of Negro high school boys to a series of school environments that were objectively similar in the demands that the schools placed upon their pupils. This chapter describes this exposure, derives the elements of dropout behavior from it, and begins a test of our "personality" approach by comparing the power of community characteristics to predict a boy's high school future.

COMMON SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO GHETTO

In September 1958, exactly 795 Negro boys began their high school training by registering in the Low 7th grade of the eight junior high schools then provided for them by the Houston Independent School District. Of this number, 398 had discontinued their high school education by August 1964--the last date for their expected graduation under the 3-3 Plan which the district still employs.* Three of the boys had died; one had become physically unable to attend school, and the remainder had discontinued voluntarily. Their voluntary dropout rate was 49.1 per cent.

As based upon objective characeristics usually associated with success or failure in school, each boy had been restricted in his opportunities to gain adequate preparation for meeting the demands of a standard American high school. First, there were the restrictions of sheer physical space and meaningful contacts with the larger urban community. Like others of their race, the boys had grown up almost completely imprisoned by their "colored world"--by a world composed almost entirely of people of their own race and natural kind--and had been socially as well as spatially set apart as related to the social-cultural context of the larger city. There were 196 census tracts included within the city's corporate limits, but the 215,037 Negroes who lived in the inner city occupied only 45 of them. But even here, 19 of these tracts included 74.6 percent of all the Negroes of the city. As shown in Map 1, these latter tracts combined to form six large communities that sharply defined "Negro Houston." They formed a series of black islands in a great white urban sea.

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*This Plan provides for 3 years of junior high school (grades 7-9) and 3 years of senior high school.

The degree of residential segregation that the boys had experienced is greater than the map shows. The distribution of Negroes within each tract, including tracts where they composed less than one-half the population, had been one of extreme racial concentration. Using data as based upon the number of non-white occupied dwelling units in each tract, an index of segregation was constructed so as to determine the degree to which such units were given maximum spread or maximum concentration.[2] Of the 25 tracts in which non-white units represented less than 50 per cent of all units contained within them, 21 had a segregation index of .500 or more. In fact, 12 had an index between .750 and 1.000. The average for all 25 tracts was .713 as compared with .716 for the city as a whole.[3] Where an index of 1.000 means complete segregation, it is evident that the boys who had grown up in predominantly white census tracts had been no less segregated in the residential sense than those who had lived in other areas of the city.

Map 1

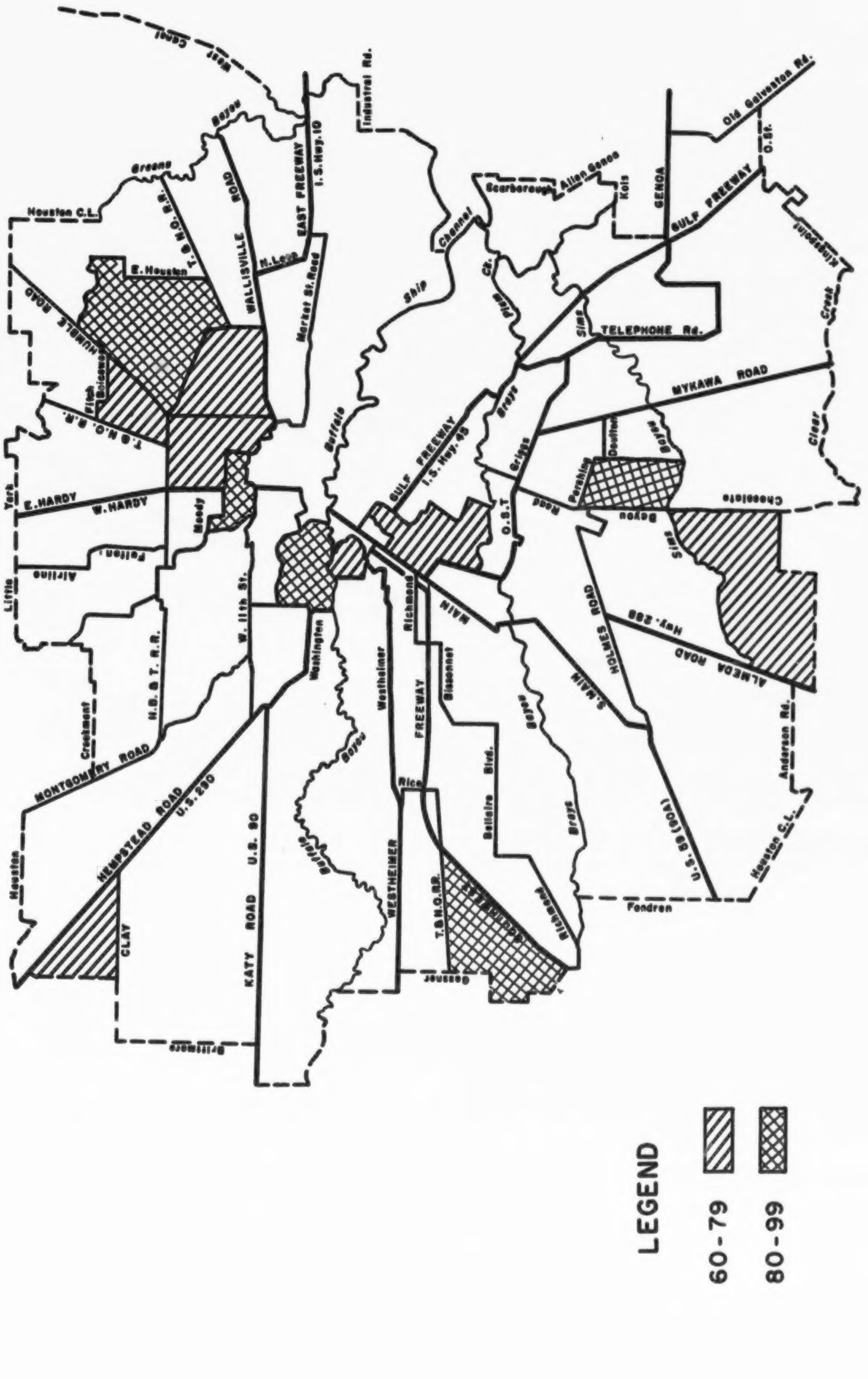
Bayou
Greens
Houston C.L.
T. & N.O. R.R.
WALLISVILLE ROAD
EAST FREEWAY
I.S. Hwy. 10
Industrial Rd.
E. Houston
N. Loop
Market St. Road
Ship Channel
Scarborough
Allen Genoa
GENOA
Old Galveston Rd.
GULF FREEWAY
O.S.T.
TELEPHONE Rd.
Sims
MYKAWA ROAD
Clear Creek
HUMBLE ROAD
Little York
E. HARDY
W. HARDY
Moody
Airline
Fulton
Buffalo
GULF FREEWAY
I.S. Hwy. 45
MAIN
Richmond
W. 11th St.
Washington
Westheimer
FREEWAY
Bissonnet
Bellaire Blvd.
Brays Bayou
S. MAIN
HOLMES ROAD
Hwy. 288
ALMEDA ROAD
Anderson Rd.
U.S. 59 (90A)
Houston C.L.
Fondren
H.&B.T. R.R.
Creekmont
MONTGOMERY ROAD
HEMPSTEAD ROAD
U.S. 290
KATY ROAD
U.S. 90
CLAY
WESTHEIMER
T.&N.O. RR.
Rice
Gessner
LEGEND
60-79
80-99

Table 1

Socio-economic Characteristics of Predominantly Negro Census Tracts as Compared with the City as a Whole

Socio-economic Characteristics	Rate of Negro Tracts
Annual family income	
Percent all families	21.0
Percent all families under $3,000	46.8
Occupational class	
Percent all families	19.4
Percent all white collar workers	7.1
Housing conditions	
Percent all occupied units	19.0
Percent all deteriorated	35.8
Educational Level	
Percent all 25 yrs. old and over	19.5
Percent all 4 yrs. of high school and over	12.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Population and Housing: Houston, 1960 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

A second kind of restriction that the boys had commonly encountered rested upon the socio-economic characteristics of their segregated world. These were areal qualities that had placed the foundation of their social-cultural matrix at the lower end of the continuum formed by the city's economic order. The sustenance base of the areas in which they lived had been proportionally substandard. The Negro families who lived there, certainly including their own, had constituted one-fifth of all the families occupying the inner city but almost one-half those having an annual income below $3,000. Their employed work force had composed approximately one-fifth the city's gainfully employed but less than one-tenth of its white-collar workers. Although their families had composed about one-fifth the city's occupied units, they were living in over one-third of those that were dilapidated or had begun to deteriorate. Similar disproportionality existed in educational characteristics. The Negro areas had included approximately one-fifth of those 25 years of age and over but only 12.3 percent of all who had achieved four years of high school training or above. Table 1 represents these rates of relative socio-economic conditions for the predominantly Negro census tracts in which three-fourths of the boys had grown up. It indicates that during an important period of their lives, these boys had been surrounded by far less than their share of those community qualities that are supposed to foster school success.

Within the framework of these limitations, only a few of the Negro areas had been significantly less disadvantaged than the others. On an interracial continuum that scaled the socio-economic characteristics of each of the six school areas defined by the communities where Negroes lived, a few Negroes were apparently living nearer the top and constituted what may be considered a thin Negro upper class.

Table 2

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Areas Served by the Schools the Boys Attended

Socio-economic Characteristics	Miller-Yates	Attucks-Worthing	Kashmere	Lockett-Harper and Washington	Smith-Wheatley	Ryan-Miller
Occupational Class* (Percent workers in)						
White collar	35.5	14.2	11.4	10.2	12.3	11.4
Blue collar	17.4	31.2	29.7	25.6	26.2	24.9
No collar	47.1	54.6	58.9	64.2	61.5	63.7
Annual Family Income (Average)						
Under $3,000	25.0	30.6	34.5	51.9	48.6	53.1
3,000-4,999	31.2	37.2	35.1	32.0	31.7	30.4
5,000 and over	43.8	32.2	30.4	16.1	19.7	16.5
Educational Level (Percent 25 yrs. of age and over)						
Under 8th grade	18.8	34.5	42.3	33.1	41.8	37.7
Some high school	47.6	53.2	48.9	51.1	50.6	52.0
Some college	33.6	12.3	8.8	15.8	7.6	10.3

*"White collar" class includes workers in the clerical class or above; "blue collar" includes craftsmen and operatives; and all laborers compose the "no collar" class.

Most, however, were resting near what has since become known as the poverty level. Excluding one school area that was noticeably less disadvantaged than the others, one-third of the families served by the schools that the boys attended had an annual income under $3,000; less than 15 percent of their workers were employed at the white-collar level; and less than 16 percent of their 25 year olds had received some college education. For the boys, as well as their schools, the Negro communities had provided only a few examples of economic success. Table 2 presents data that characterize the various school areas in terms of their socio-economic characteristics.

THE NATURE OF SCHOOL DEMANDS

Despite the common qualities of the areas in which the Negro boys had lived, each boy had been exposed to a school environment that was in fact a test of his tolerance for having a goodly portion of his life regulated. Part of this test had existed in the official structure of the school. Each school had its code of pupil conduct. Particularly important were those codes that pertained to respect for teacher authority and school property. Important, too, were the codes of conduct pertaining to a pupil's relations with other students. Strong rules were enforced against fighting, especially where knives or guns were involved, and almost inflexible regulations were imposed in the area of sex behavior. There had been no important differences among schools. Each had drawn a normative line for pupil conduct, and had fashioned similar sanctions against the pupil who deviated beyond the range of tolerance that each school administrator had set.

However, that part of the test that rested at the informal level and emenated from the teachers themselves was probably most severe. As if inspired by "a more noble mission," the teachers had imposed upon their students a common set of expectations and demands that reached beyond the educational standards of the ghetto in which the educative process had been actually anchored. Guided more by the aim of acculturation than enculturation--aspiring more to make pupils like Americans in general than the people of their subculture in particular--the teachers had unconsciously installed a system of expectations that rejected the traditional colored world. Strongly identifying with the upward mobile Negro middle class, the teachers had rested the rationalization for their teaching goals, where it still rests, squarely upon the concept of an obligation to elevate the race.

There were several reasons for this. First, the teachers had themselves climbed from the lower level of the Negro class structure to become the ghetto's chief bearers of the American middle-class form. A sample of 206 of them was drawn from the several Negro junior high schools by means of a public school directory and a table of random numbers.[4] When classified according to variables usually employed as indicators of socio-economic position, the majority of the teachers were shown to have originated out of the upper position of the Negro lower class.* Most of them were children whose parents had achieved less than a complete high school education and had been employed as laborers or domestic servants. Approximately two-thirds of these teachers had migrated with their parents to Houston from the small towns of Texas and Louisiana in search of "more stable employment opportunities and better schools." Although mainly children of parents who had failed to finish high school, all of these teachers had managed to achieve the baccalaureate degree in a rated college, and over one-third of them had acquired the Master's degree in the field in which they were teaching.

Even before entering the teaching profession, the teachers had begun showing signs of upward mobility. Of the 56 percent who had been gainfully employed prior to taking their first teaching position, over half had been working at the clerical level or above. On the whole, most of them had never experienced employment below the professional level. Practically all of them had confined their personal associates to people who composed the "thin upper crust" of Negro Houston; they had resided, as they still do, in the better or more exclusive residential areas available to Negroes in the city; and, as indicated by the voluntary associations to which they belonged, were noticeably set apart from the class level out of which most of them had originated. To them, the chance for upward mobility was an opportunity that, as one teacher expressed it, "few

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*See Appendix B for tabulations upon which patterns of social origin were derived.

Negroes can afford to ignore." Some teachers were quite convinced about this. "If I made it," declared one, "the kids I teach can make it too."

There was another reason for the kind of commitment the teachers held. They felt that the parents, for lack of sufficient involvement, had turned the children over to them; that by this forfeit, they had passed to them the major responsibilities for the child's education while he was in their school. Most of the teachers regretted this forfeit and were quite vocal about it. The regret became evident when each was asked to make a judgment on the kind of interest parents usually expressed in the education of their children. There was a decided consensus among them that parents wanted their children to get an education, but allowed their interest to stop there. "They have high places they want their children to go," charged one teacher, "but putting forth an effort to get them there is where most of the parents fall down." Another added, "They seem to want an education for their children--seem to want the child to do better than they did--but they don't follow through." And still another complained: "They expect the teacher to take their places, and they blame the school for the child's failure." All through the teachers' imagery of parents was an expressed parental concern weakened by a lack of sustained parental involvement. Consequently, the teachers had taken "the bull by the horns" and shaped standards of expectation that transcended what they believed to be the degree to which parents were involved in the education of their children.

That the pupils had been handicapped by prior years of deprivation apparently had little effect upon what the teachers expected of them. In addition to their concurrence with official standards of personal conduct, the teachers had developed unofficial expectations that each pupil would bring the same kind of academic preparation as that brought by any other child who entered the American educational system at his level.* The teachers did not feel that they were being unrealistic in this expectation. They were not saying that the child would bring this degree of academic competence; they were saying that he should. They had refused to accept segregation as a fatal blow for a child who really aspired to become educated. It had not been a fatal blow for them.

Therefore, the teachers had based the standards of their academic expectations upon what they felt should be the intelligence and achievement levels of pupils whom they receive from their feeder schools. As measured by the test battery each pupil is given at the end of his 6th grade, teachers expected that each should bring an average intelligence quotient and scores of achievement level that placed him at the 7th grade or the norm of the grade he was entering.** Where their expectations are here defined in terms of what the teachers felt "ought to be," there was left little room for retardation. There was nothing formal about these standards of academic readiness; they were backed by no official policy. Nevertheless, they did become demands that faced each pupil as he faced his teachers in class.

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*See Appendix B for tabulations of teacher expectations in the area of academic and social readiness for pursuing a high school career.

**For a measure of intelligence the boys had been given the Beta Form of the Otis Quick Scoring Test; for grade achievement level, they had been given the Stanford Achievement Battery.

Far more meaningful is the fact that the teachers were considerably less tolerant with regard to a child's degree of commitment to the pursuit of a high school career. Of the 90 days schooling usually available to the district's pupils each semester, the teachers, by average, expected an attendance record of 85 if the student was to do satisfactory work in his class. Satisfactory work to them consisted of a grade-point average of 2.00 on a five point scale in which "A" was given a value of 4 points and no points for "F." The traditional "C," therefore, became the teachers' normative indicator that a pupil was doing satisfactory work in their classes. They expected little academic lagging. They were willing to tolerate some retainment for slower learners, but still pegged their tolerance at two chances to repeat a grade. Also, they expected that the pupil involve himself in school life, and that he participate in at least two school activities as evidence of his involvement.

The points to be emphasized here are that these teachers, whether right or wrong, allowed for little deviation from school standards--softened individual differences as the guiding principle behind their obligations as teachers--and took active steps to consolidate their position. One can say that they were somewhat rigid in their expectations, but not that they were indifferent about the child's educational future. A pupil's drop below their expectations often called into play some action designed to facilitate his greater commitment to school. Most times the elicited action was merely a report to the administrative office. Particularly did this occur in instances of severe misconduct or irregular attendance. There was the pronounced feeling that to do more, after pressure had been "judiciously applied," would contradict the teacher's purpose. One teacher expressed this feeling when she asked philosophically, "How long can you pursue the lost sheep without losing the ones that you have found." In a significant number of cases, however, a teacher's reaction to severe deviation was a conversation with the child's parents. Especially did these conversations occur following the release of report cards. Only a few pupils who lagged behind were touched this way, for there were many whose attendance was so irregular and lives so unstable that channels of communication with them or their parents were hopelessly blocked. Nevertheless, 93 percent of the teachers reported taking one or the other of these lines of action when their pupils dropped dangerously below their expectations. Various types of disciplinary actions, originating either at the official or unofficial level, were applied against extreme deviates and became a vital part of the pressure to conform that the schools imposed upon their pupils.

There were more subtle relations that helped to define this pressure. These were the points at which teachers were inclined to reject or embrace the child who fell short of the system of expectations that had been laid down. Through a scale of semantic differentials,* where teachers were allowed to respond in terms of how clearly pairs of words described the way they felt about a pupil who deviated seriously from their expectations, certain types of biases emerged to support a more pressing classroom climate. The imagery to which each teacher was responding was that of the child who attends school irregularly, makes low grades, is retained persistently, or fails to participate in school activities. For purposes of analysis, the instrument was divided into three descriptive categories: the child's behavior, the effect of the behavior, and the teacher's reaction to it. An average score for each pair of words was computed as based upon a scale in which a score of 5 is very favorable, 4 is favorable, 3 average, 2 unfavorable, and 1 very unfavorable. The averages presented in Table 3 show that the teachers tended to reject the behavior but not the pupils themselves; they saw the children as pupils who needed their help or at least needed help from the kind of school in which they taught.

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*See Appendix B for the semantic scale used.

Table 3

Averages of the Responses of 206 Negro Teachers to Semantic Differential Scales Pertaining to the Behavior of Pupils who Fail to Meet Their Expectations

Word Pairs	Averages
Those describing pupil behavior	
Smart--dull	1.3
Responsible--irresponsible	2.1
Ruly--unruly	1.7
Excusable--inexcusable	2.4
Those describing effect of the behavior	
A child who will make it--one who won't make it	2.3
One advancing the race--one holding back the race	1.1
Those defining teacher's reactions	
One properly using my time--one wasting my time	4.2
One to remember--one to forget	4.5
One who is challenging--one who is depressing	4.6
One for my school--one for a special school	3.6
One for my class--one for a special class	2.7

And so the teachers whom Houston's Negro junior high school boys faced in the fall of 1958 had joined school adminstrators in drawing a line of conformity to which each pupil was expected to adhere. They had etched upon it a zone that defined limits of tolerance--a range below which a boy could not fall without triggering the sanctions that awaited the deviant. This line, backed by sanctions, represented a collection of pressure situations defined here as school demands. Contrary to what is often thought,[5] any pressure received from the peer society was responsive to this complex. It could merely facilitate or inhibit a boy's withdrawal from a situation which he had either found unbearable or at least tolerable.

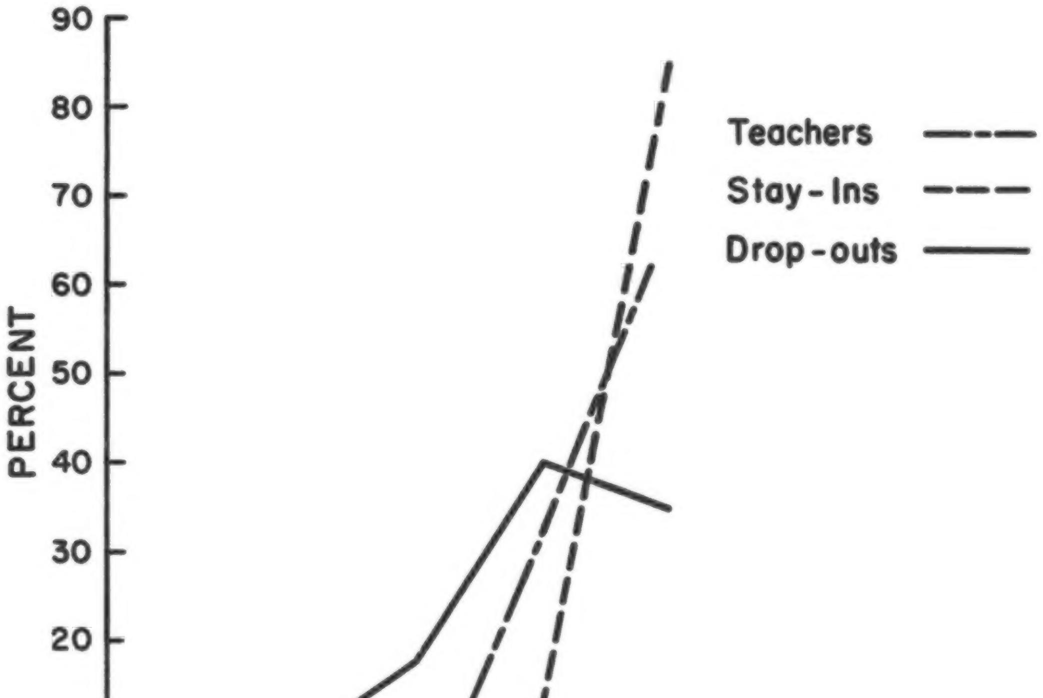
DROPOUT BEHAVIOR AS DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSES TO SCHOOL DEMANDS

The pressure of expectations caused the boys to make differential responses to the demands of their school environments.[6] Testing each boy's level for the amount of regulation he could endure, school and teacher expectations became selective favors behind school participation and quickly assigned the boys to one or the other of two different kinds of school populations: those who were to remain in high school until graduation, and those who were to withdraw voluntarily before this time.

One of these responses, indicating the first element of dropout behavior, was expressed by the boys through the number of days they attended school each semester. The teachers had established an average of 85 days as essential for doing satisfactory work. One half of the boys had fallen below this expectation, for their median number of days attended was 82. In their individual responses, however, teacher expectations proved to be a highly selective factor. Of the 335 boys who averaged less than 80 days in attendance each semester, 82.7 per cent eventually withdrew from school. The selective force of this factor neatly assembled the boys into two rather distinct populations. Those who were to remain in school became structured into a group that highly conformed to attendance expectations, while those who were to withdraw eventually came to constitute a group of high deviancy with regard to regularity of attendance. The former averaged 88 days per semester as compared with 66 for the latter. Chart 1 represents a picture of the pattern according to which Stay-ins and Drop-outs became structured along this line of teacher expectation.

Chart 1

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to Average Number of Days Attending Each Semester, and According to Number Expected by Teacher



The conditions that caused some of the boys to be more vulnerable to the pressure of attendance than the others apparently developed even before the boys entered junior high school. Dissimilarity between the potential Stay-in and Drop-out pppulations appeared in their records during the first semester of junior high registration and continued, almost without change, as the erosion process against the latter gained its momentum. Approximately 57 percent of those who were to withdraw from high school completely had done so by the end of junior high sochol, their sixth semester. But as early as their first semester, they had already shown significantly greater irregularity of attendance than those where were destined to remain and complete their high school education. During their junior high school years, potential Drop-outs developed an attendance record that averaged one school week shorter than that of potential Stay-ins, and those who continued to senior high school before withdrawing consistently maintained the attendance differential that had been established earlier. The proportion of Drop-outs who approximated teacher expectations gradually declined until the last boys to withdraw had become mainly deviants as defined by attendance standards. Table 4 shows these differentials in the two populations as based upon their average daily attendance through the twelve-semester period.

Table 4

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to the
Number, Per Cent, and Average Daily Attendance
for Each Semester Enrolled

	0-19		20-39		40-59		60-79		80 & over		Total Per Cent		No. Cases	
Semester	SI	DO	SI	DO	SI	DO	SI	DO	SI	DO	SI	DO	SI	DO
1		4.3	0.3	7.8	1.5	9.9	9.7	25.8	88.5	52.2	100.0	100.0	401	322
2	0.3	6.0	0.3	6.0	1.7	6.7	11.9	35.5	85.8	45.8	100.0	100.0	401	282
3		4.3	0.2	3.0	1.0	4.3	7.0	23.7	91.8	64.7	100.0	100.0	401	232
4	0.2	3.3	0.3	4.7	1.5	12.6	13.2	33.6	84.8	45.8	100.0	100.0	401	214
5		2.8		1.1	1.2	8.4	6.0	36.5	92.8	51.2	100.0	100.0	401	178
6		3.5		4.7	1.0	7.1	8.2	37.6	90.8	47.1	100.0	100.0	401	170
7		3.3		4.9	0.5	8.2	8.5	36.1	91.0	47.5	100.0	100.0	401	122
8		6.5		4.7	0.8	13.1	12.2	37.4	87.0	38.3	100.0	100.0	401	107
9		3.6		3.6	1.0	14.5	14.2	39.8	84.8	38.5	100.0	100.0	401	83
10		3.2		3.2	1.2	16.1	20.5	43.6	78.3	33.9	100.0	100.0	401	62
11		2.4		4.8	1.2	21.4	19.0	33.3	79.8	38.1	100.0	100.0	401	42
12				3.5	1.6	10.3	16.5	41.4	82.5	44.8	100.0	100.0	401	29

The selective process was so discriminating in its force that attendance rate became an efficient variable through which this element of dropout behavior could be measured and utilized as an indicator of a boy's high school destiny. Two kinds of evidence support this conclusion: a relatively high statistical significance of the relationship between attendance rate and attendance status (whether a Stay-in or a Drop-out) and the relative power of the rate to predict in which of the two populations a boy was destined to fall.

Table 5

Per Cent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Their Average Daily Attendance and Attendance Status

Average Daily Attendance (in days)	Attendance Status		Total (in numbers)
	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	
0-19	0.0	5.1	20
20-39	0.0	7.1	28
40-59	1.0	19.8	82
60-79	15.5	40.6	221
80 and over	83.5	27.4	437
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-Square= 236.9, $P < .001$, 4df
$\text{Lambda}^*_{AS} = .56$

*Where Lambda is the Index of Predictive Association and AS is Attendance Status that is predicted.

Average daily attendance and attendance status were significantly related. Stay-ins concentrated at the higher end of the attendance scale while Drop-outs concentrated near the middle. The former constituted about one-half the boys who registered in 1958 but three-fourths of those averaging 80 days or more each semester in attendance. To put it another way, while 83.5 percent of the Stay-ins averaged 80 days or more, only 27.4 percent of the Drop-outs averaged this many days. The magnitude of the Chi-square value computed from a distribution of the boys according to attendance rate and attendance status indicates the high degree of significance of the relationship between these two variables. It shows that attending school 80 days or more per semester generally goes with being a Stay-in. See Table 5.

This relationship between school attendance rate and attendance status establishes the rate as a very important index through which a boy's high school destiny can be forecast. Knowing this rate now, and without knowing the population to which the boys belonged, one can reduce his error of assigning them to their respective populations (Stay-in or Drop-out) by as much as 56 percent on the average.* But a counselor, having known their attendance rates for the first semester in their junior high career, could have reduced his error in assigning them as much as 40 percent on the average.* The degree of regularity of school attendance, therefore, appears to be a definite element of dropout behavior--a sign that lets us know early in a boy's school career that he is about to withdraw from school voluntarily.

---

*Throughout the study, the Index of Predictive Association was computed for nominal scales in which Ns were equated by way of a random sample drawn from the Stay-in population as against all Drop-outs. See Appendix B for absolute frequencies.

A second expression of dropout behavior appeared in the school grades that the boys accumulated. As in the case of school attendance, they had fallen, on the average, significantly short of the standard their teachers had set as evidence of doing satisfactorily in school. The teachers had generally considered a cumulative grade-point average of 2.6 (C+) as evidence of a student's satisfactory progress. The boys had averaged 1.7, a mark closer to "C."

Once again, however, teacher expectations had elicited differential responses from the boys. There were 286 whose cumulative average had been 1.0 ("D") or below, and 8 per cent. of them had dropped out of school before graduation. Like attendance expectations, school grades had become sufficiently discriminating to separate the boys into the two different types of populations they had already become. Stay-ins had become conformists and Drop-outs had become deviants. The former had maintained a cumulative average of 2.2 while the latter had fallen almost one point lower to 1.3. Chart 2 presents a picture of how clearly the two populations were identifiable in terms of school grades.

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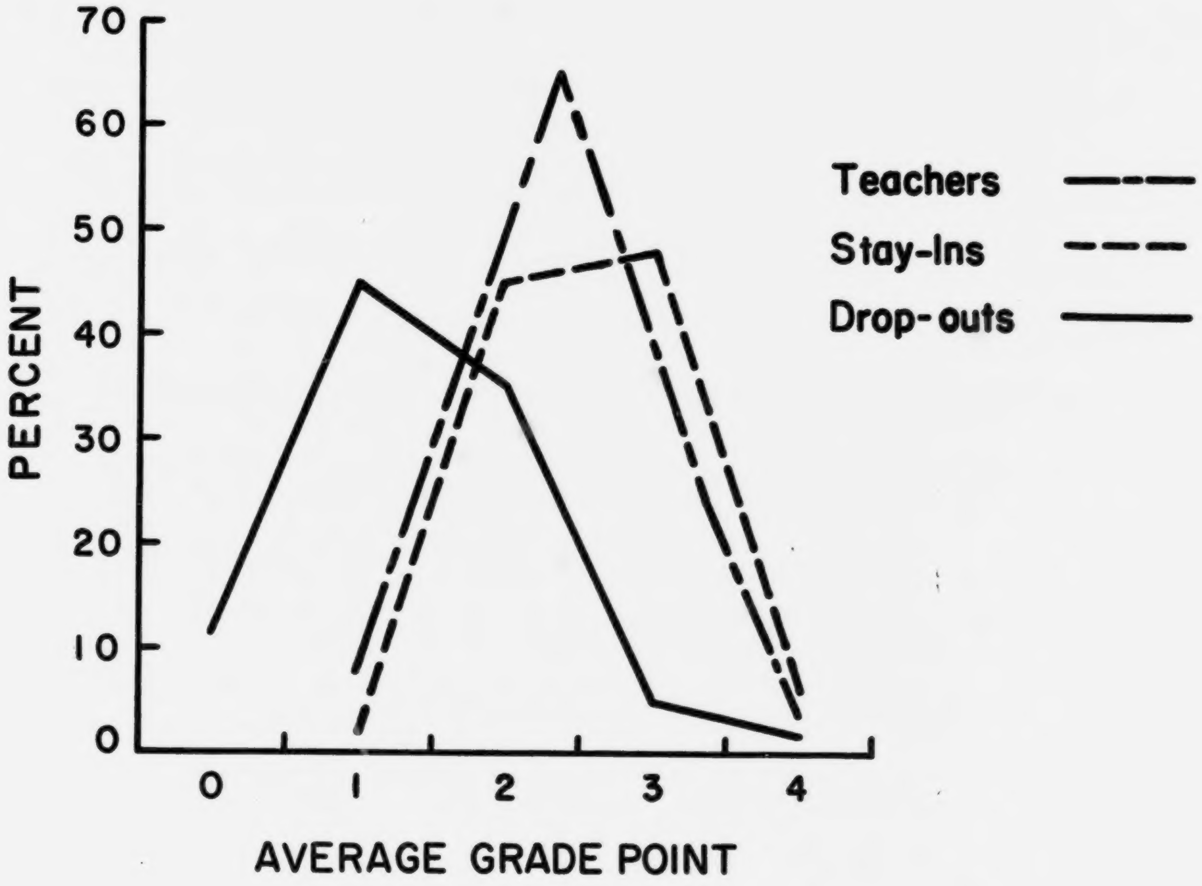
*See Table 5B, Appendix B.

Chart 2

Per Cent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs
As to School Grades Achieved and Grades
Expected by Their Teachers

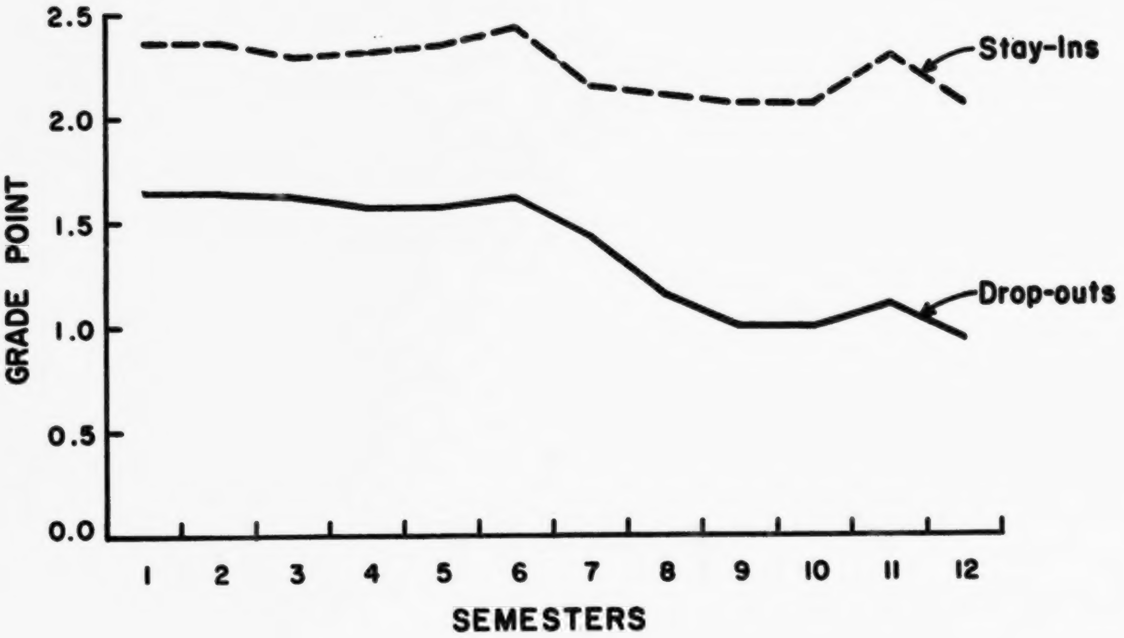


Already identified by attendance records, the two populations maintained their respective qualities as time passed. Semester by semester, the difference continued; potential Drop-outs who persisted in school continued to to be like their kind and to perform significantly below teacher expectations. Continued exposure to the school environment had failed to shake them from the structural quality of inadequate performance with which they had entered junior high school.

In fact, there is some evidence, as indicated by Chart 3, that the exposure had exercised a deteriorating effect upon their academic response. Students who postponed their complete withdrawal from high school until their senior year had fallen even lower in school grades, as compared with potential graduates, than those who had withdrawn earlier.

Chart 3

Percent Distribution of Potential Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to Cumulative Grade Point Average During Successive Semesters Enrolled



School grades constituted a second factor that is closely related to whether or not a boy drops out of school. Stay-ins made up over two-thirds of all the boys whose cumulative average fell in the 4-2 (A-C) class, a proportion significantly higher than their proportional representation in the total population. While 89 per cent of the Stay-ins were in this class, only 38 percent of the Drop-outs were there. The Chi-square value computed from the distribution as shown in Table 6 attests to the significance of this relationship and suggests that being a Stay-in means higher grades and being a Drop-out means lower ones.

Table 6

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Cumulative Semester Grade-Point Average and Attendance Status

Semester Grade-point Average	Attendance Status		Total (in numbers)
	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	
A=4	4.1	0.5	18
B=3	19.3	7.4	105
C=2	65.7	30.4	379
D=1	10.9	46.2	225
F=0	0.0	15.5	61
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-square= 199.3, $P < .001$, 4df
Lambda = .51
AS

The high degree of relationship between grades and type of school population to which a boy belonged establishes a second predictive indicator. The Index of Predictive Association between the two variables (grades and attendance status) was .51, showing that one knowing the boys' cumulative grade point averages could increase his guess as to the type of population to which they belonged by more than 50 percent on the average. But, according to the distribution in Table 7, a counselor could have done almost as well, knowing the boys' grades at the end of the first semester of their junior high school enrollment. He could have improved his guess at this time by 32 percent.

Table 7

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Grade-Point Average for First Semester and Attendance Status

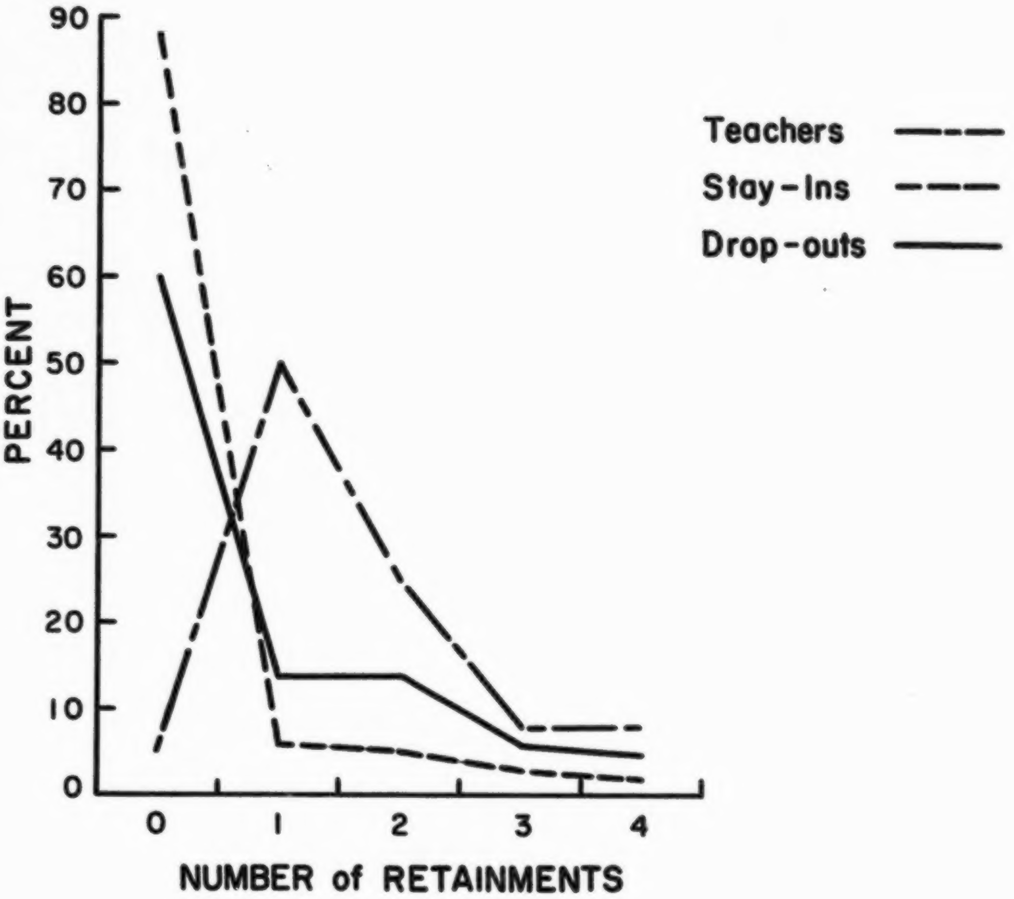
First Semester: Grade-Point Average	Attendance Status		Total (in numbers)
	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	
A=4	8.1	0.2	33
B=3	36.8	12.2	193
C=2	46.9	47.2	371
D=1	7.4	27.7	138
F=0	0.8	12.7	53
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-square= 165.9, P $<$.001, 4df.
Lambda .32
AS =

The number of times a boy repeated a grade proved to be a third indicator of dropout behavior, although teacher tolerance in this area reduced individual deviancy considerably. In the judgment of the average teacher, a pupil could sustain as many as two retainments before evidencing negligence in his school work. The boys had kept well within this expectation, averaging less than one retainment throughout the semesters in school.*

Chart 4

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs According to Number of Retainments Sustained As Compared with Number Teachers Expected



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*Range of tolerance in number of retainments was increased by the social promotion policy of HISD--a policy allowing for the promotion of pupils whose retainment was thought to contribute little to their academic advancement and to place them outside the normal age-range for their grade.

Nevertheless, differential response to this expectation was elicited, and the selective process that had manifested itself to identify other elements of dropout behavior asserted itself again to make the number of times retained another factor capable of separating Stay-in and Drop-out populations.

Some relationship between retainment and potential population type was sustained. Although only 74 of the boys were retained more than two times, almost all of these (97 percent) eventually dropped out of school. Potential Stay-ins constituted only 21 percent of those retained one or more times. Therefore, differences between the two populations were sufficient to make retainment a helpful variable for predicting whether or not a boy will withdraw from school prematurely. The Index of Predictive Association as computed from the distribution shown in Table 8 was .34.

Table 8

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Number of Retainments and Attendance Status

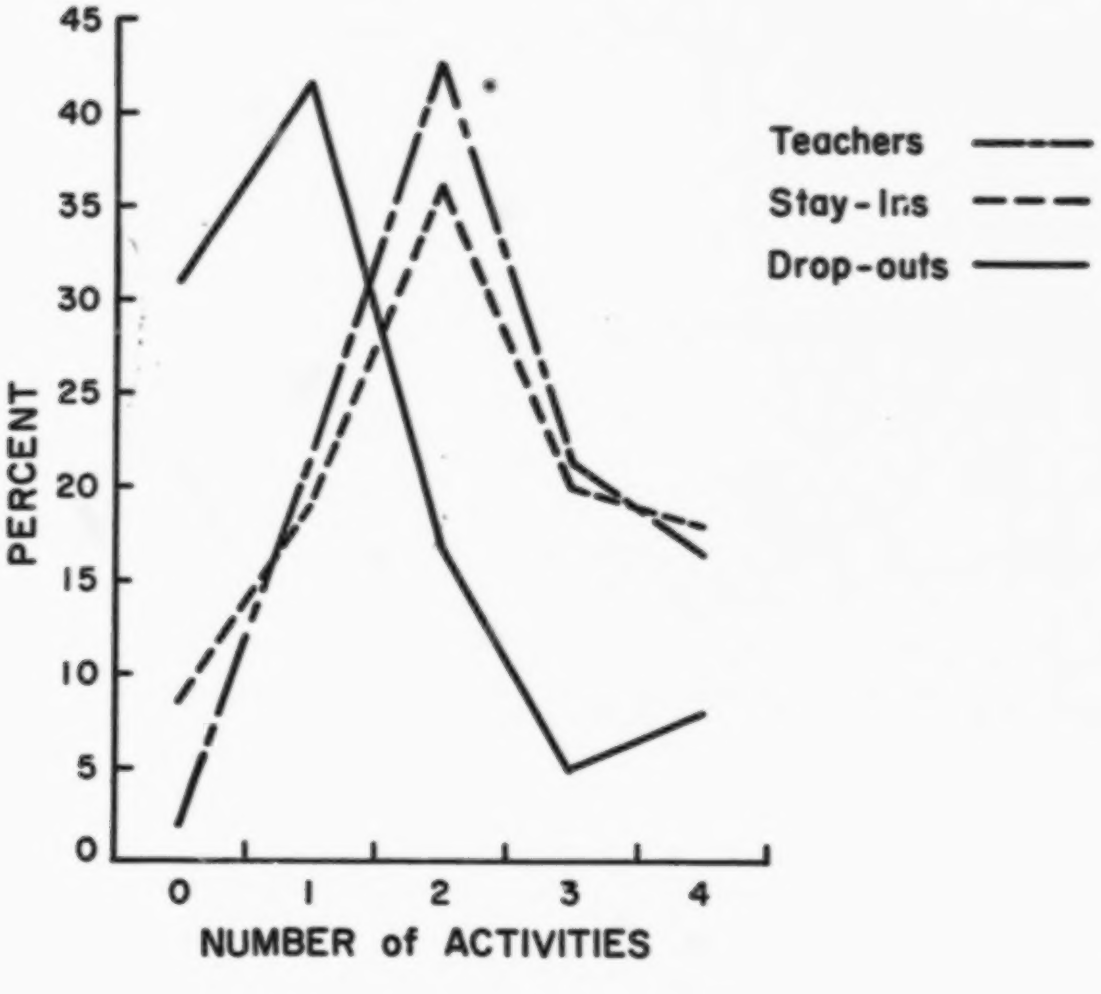
	Attendance Status		Total
No. Retainments	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	(in numbers)
None	88.1	53.8	559
One	6.3	14.0	80
Two	5.1	14.0	75
Three & over	0.5	18.2	74
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-square= 126.4, $P < .001$, 3df.
Lambda = .34
AS

A fourth expression of dropout behavior appeared in the tendency for potential Drop-outs to withdraw from participation in school activities to a significantly greater degree than did Stay-ins. There were 392 boys who fell below the standard of two activities which teachers had set as evidence of a boy's involvement in his school life. Over two-thirds or 79 percent of these, however, eventually withdrew from school. In this response, also, rather sharp differences marked the two populations as conformists on the one hand and deviants on the other, when judged in terms of teacher expectations. Chart 5 presents a picture of these differences.

Chart 5

Per Cent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs
As to Number of School Activities as Compared
With Number Teachers Expected



The association between number of activities and attendance status, as indicated by the index computed from Table 8, was sufficient to make this variable another predictor of dropout behavior. This index of .37 seems to tell us that a boy's alienation from school activities is a dependable sign of his coming withdrawal.

Table 9

Percent Distribution of Boys According to Number of School Activities and Attendance Status

No. Activities	Attendance Status: Stay-ins	Attendance Status: Drop-outs	Total (in numbers)
None	10.9	29.4	159
One	20.3	38.8	233
Two	32.5	17.5	197
Three	20.8	6.4	107
Four & over	15.5	7.9	92
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-square= 116.4, $P < .001$, 4df.
Lambda$_{AS}$ = .37

These four phases of a boy's school record (his average daily attendance, school grades, number of retainments, and number of school activities) combine to constitute the basic character of his degree of commitment to a high school education. They reflect rather clearly the direction in which he plans to go.

Table 10

Percentage of Stay-ins and Drop-outs Manifesting Specific Patterns of Dropout Behavior

Patterns*				Stay-ins	Drop-outs	(in numbers
A	B	C	D			
+	+	-	-	100.0	0.0	2
+	+	+	+	94.0	6.0	201
+	+	+	-	79.0	21.0	167
-	+	-	+	71.4	28.6	7
+	+	-	+	60.0	40.0	5
+	-	+	+	52.9	47.1	17
-	+	+	+	34.1	65.9	41
+	-	-	+	20.0	80.0	10
-	+	+	-	18.7	81.3	75
-	-	+	+	15.8	84.2	19
+	-	-	-	13.9	86.1	36
+	-	+	-	12.5	87.5	40
-	-	+	-	9.7	90.3	72
-	-	-	+	9.5	90.5	21
-	+	-	-	7.7	92.3	13
-	-	-	-	1.6	98.4	62
Total				50.0	50.0	788

*Elements composing the patterns
A=80 days or more in attendance
B=Average school grades A-C
C=One or less retainments
D=Participates in 2 or more activities
+=Boy's record does comply
-=Boy's record does not comply

When the school record of each boy is patterned according to the elements in which he is higher or lower than his teachers generally expect, the boys representing each of the two populations are distributed according to the patterning that results, certain combinations of inadequacy emerge in favor of failure as compared with contrasting patterns that favor success. Table 10 shows this through the percentage of Stay-ins and Drop-outs manifesting each pattern.

Using percentage of Drop-outs as a failure score, a distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs can be made according to the score level in which each falls. Such a distribution, as represented in table 11, becomes a prediction instrument that tells us how likely a boy who manifests a given kind of pattern--a given kind of combination of the four elements--is to withdraw from school. On the whole, a boy who is below teacher expectations in any combination of three elements has, on the average, approximately 92 chances out of 100 of dropping out of school before graduation. To the contrary, the boy who is below expectations in not more than one of these elements has approximately 44 chances of becoming a Drop-out.

Table 11

Prediction Tables As Based Upon the Four Elements of Dropout Behavior

Failure Score	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
0.0-29.9	92.8	7.2	100.0
30.0-59.9	55.8	44.2	100.0
60.0-99.9	18.7	81.3	100.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

Apparently, these four elements of dropout behavior operate in qualitative as well as quantitative dimensions. A detailed analysis of each boy's record revealed that the major signs indicating the direction he will take are the degree of regularity of his school attendance and the grades he makes while in school. Practically all (91 percent) of the boys who fell below teacher expectations in these two elements eventually withdrew from school.[7] The predictive index derived from the association of failure scores and attendance status as derived from these two elements was .64, indicating the greater sensitivity of a boy to these two phases of his school demands. Table 12 presents a prediction table based upon these elements alone.

Table 12

Prediction Table Based Upon Regularity of Attendance and School Grades

Failure Score	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
0.0-29.9	92.8	7.2	100.0
30.0-69.9	66.7	33.3	100.0
70.0-89.9	19.7	80.3	100.0
90.0 & over	2.9	97.1	100.0
Total	50.0	50.0	100.0

There was yet another kind of evidence of the sensitivity of the boys to the pressure of teacher and school expectations. We gleaned this from the gripes and confessions the boys made during taped group-interview sessions. When Drop-outs were probed as to why they discontinued their high school education, and Stay-ins as to why they had remained in school throughout their high school days, their replies showed that attendance and grade standards were on their minds; that they were threats to the security of the Drop-outs and sources of security for the Stay-ins. For a goodly portion of the Drop-outs, regular attendance itself was a requirement too difficult to endure. In their efforts to escape this pressure, they cut their classes often and quietly stole away. Below are representative statements made by this group of boys in explaining their withdrawal from school:

> I got to staying out. Then I stayed out more and more days until I finally quit.
>
> I really don't know the reason. All I know is I started missing one or two days at a time--and finally I just quit. You don't realize how much you need an education until you get out on your own.
>
> At first I liked school and I wanted to go, but later, when I got in high school, I just got to the place where I didn't like going anymore--that everyday stuff. I started playing around with my friends, so upped and joined the Navy; me and my friend J. F.* went in together.

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*Names are initialed or fictionalized to assure anonymity.

> Well one time I got to skipping classes and they started getting after me. I went to the counselor and told him I wanted to quit, but he didn't want me to. But I stopped anyway and that was bad. I know that now.
>
> I don't know. Attending everyday got me. I just started going to the home room, checking in and leaving.

Most of the Drop-outs, however, tried to eat their cake and have it too. They tried to attend school occasionally and yet remain in good standing. The strategy did not work. It merely called out the sanctions that teachers and administrators had erected against this type of deviancy. After establishing a record of irregular attendance, they were required to bring their parents to talk with the counselor before being readmitted to school. Some of the boys refused to meet this requirement and thereby accepted withdrawal. Best representing this group is the statement of the boy who admitted: "Well I had bad attendance, and they had a system set up where if you missed three days, they make you stay out for a while or bring your parents to explain things. I didn't go back when the time was up. I kept saying I was going back, but I never did."

There were times when the pressure of this sanction (requiring parental intercession before being admitted to school) provoked conflicts between teacher and pupil, and erupted in the pupil's withdrawal. "Well I never did like school, but I went," reported one of the many boys who became involved in this type of difficulty. "But if I can remember correctly, I cut two classes over a period of three weeks. Mr. M., the assistant principal who didn't like me, wrote my father a note and my father came and we went to the office. I was working at night. I was on the campus but wasn't going to class. That day in the office Mr. M. jumped up and hit me with a board. I walked off the campus and haven't been back." Some of the boys whose persistent absence from class provoked a similar kind of conflict showed a greater degree of aggression. One reported: "I skipped a few classes and I got a little sassy. I thought I had better leave." Expressing a similar strategy of retreat, another stated: "I almost had a fight with one of those old teachers. I'd miss a day and they would call me 'wine-head.' So I just got tired and walked off." Still another complained: "A teacher told me I could quit since I was 16, because I didn't go often. He told me I didn't look right and made me feel real nasty."

Finally, there was the relatively small group of boys (11.2 percent) whose attendance was so irregular and caused so much trouble that their schools sought to get rid of them by expulsion. Once out of the school from which they were expelled, they did not seek admission to another, although they were at liberty to do so. There were reasons for this. Over and over they said--in taped interview sessions and in private conferences with our field enumerators--: "I knew my bad record would follow me and they would be after me too." Others, fearing the same kind of exposure, put the reason this way: "I missed seven days and they told me not to come back. I knew they would tell the other schools about it."

And another, in apparent defeat, said, "They all do you like that."

Despite these varying types of circumstances that Drop-outs reported as direct reasons for their leaving school, there are common thematic threads that bind them and give them a common quality. For these boys, the school environment was perceived as a threat to their comfort or personal dignity; they felt that they were rejected or were not looked upon with tolerance for their irregular attendance; and they had underrated the seriousness of their behavior. At the time they were withdrawing with so much abandonment, they felt justified in their actions. They were in flight from what appeared to be an unpleasant experience.

Although Drop-outs perceived attendance requirements this way, there were other pressures driving them from school. These centered mainly around low grades. There were three groups of boys for whom grade requirements became troublesome. The first was composed of those who could have done better but experienced pressure through neglecting their school work. Other interests involved them until they were overcome with the problem of trying to keep up with the class. "I got tired of making 'Fs' and cutting class," explained one boy in this group. "I couldn't seem to straighten up and leave the broads alone. I got tired of it. I wasn't doing nothing anyway, so I quit and got a job." Another, plagued by failure, admitted that he was not studying: "So I quit and joined the Navy. I stayed there six months, but I failed the test and they sent me back home." Others commonly agreed with the boy who, expressing their sentiments, said: "Well it wasn't that I was tired of school, I started going to the show during school hours and got behind in my grades. The teachers stayed on me for that. So I stopped going."

A second group was made up of boys who, finding school work hard, were unwilling to expend their best efforts. "The reason I left," admitted one of this group, "was because the work got so hard and it seemed the more I tried the less I did. I guess I didn't do my best though. I had a few friends; we were running around together. Me and H. O. dropped out at the same time." And another boy, fully convinced that falling behind in class was unnecessary, confessed: "I guess all of us could'a made it. We kept shooting hooky while the other children were learning. Then the teachers stayed on us all the time." Of course there was the set of boys who, because of inadequate academic tools, could not realize very much academic success. Repeated failure drove them from school. Below are samples of the many different ways they explained the impact of grades upon their withdrawal:

> I got boned (meaning he was not born very bright). It was all right, but it seem like I couldn't learn anything. I had trouble in World History and Commercial Math. The teacher in World History didn't explain too well, but the one in math explained all right, and I still couldn't get it. I gave up.
>
> I was trying my best to finish. My lessons got too rough for me and I lost confidence in my self.

> Because I didn't want to be in a special class.* I went to Washington (Booker T., school) and they put me in a special class there. Then I went to Wheatley. They put me in a special class there too. So I stopped going.
>
> I was behind in my grades. It all started when I was small. I didn't have the right things to go to school. I started behind and I was slow in my work.
>
> I left because I was behind in so many classes. I couldn't fight the teachers and the books too.

Retainment had two kinds of effects upon potential Drop-outs. To some it seemed unfair, and they stopped school in gesture of revenge. For others, it was a source of discouragement. It convinced them that they could not achieve at the level required for promotion. Therefore, they chose to drop out of school rather than stand still. The following statements which some of the boys made seem to express the basic feelings of all of them:

> One day I lost some books and my mother couldn't pay for them and they wouldn't promote me. Then I stopped going.
>
> I dropped out because they messed up my subjects. I was supposed to take High-9th subjects and they put me in High-8th subjects. This made me mad, and I quit school. I was too old to be with children in the High-8th.
>
> They kept holding me back and it seemed I wasn't getting anywhere.
>
> I had failed once in the 8th and once in the 9th. By this time I felt I was too old to learn anything.

---

*Class for the mentally retarded operated under HISD's Talent Preservation Program.

> My real problem was reading. After I went so long and was retained so much, I didn't think I could make it. I was promoted on "condition" once, and then I stopped. I had trouble in reading and arithmetic. I couldn't remember things.

Practically all of the school activities in which potential Drop-outs engaged involved athletics. The pressure which they received in this area, therefore, originated mostly from this fact. Those who played football wanted a special favor--freedom from the responsibility of doing satisfactory class work or conducting themselves orderly. When this favor was not forthcoming, they withdrew to spite the school. Some of the athletes were in school to play a particular sport. When the season for that sport was over, they pulled out of school. They felt that they could use this kind of leverage to have their way around the school, for they knew they were usually the best participants on the teams. Indeed they drew large crowds to the various stadia because of their superior performances, and, recognizing this, they felt that the schools had broken faith with them when they were required to meet the same standards as non-athletes. On the whole, however, the potential Drop-out avoided participation in school activities because, as many of them put it, "it cut into their plans--" which plans apparently did not include school.

The Stay-in's perception of his school environment was quite in contrast to that of the Drop-out. Instead of seeing school as a threat to his security and dignity, the Stay-in defined it as an enchancement for each. This more positive imagery constituted a common quality that helped to shape all members of this population into a common type. One Stay-in was not a carbon copy of the other, for each envisioned his school environment as a force in service to his peculiar needs. Nevertheless, these needs could be categorized to allow the separation of the Stay-in population into five groups of satisfied and conforming school children.

First, there were those who perceived their school environment as a means of realizing their highly personal aspirations. To this group, finishing high school was a challenge--a conquest over some barrier or negative expectation the boys thought to be standing in their way. This feeling was very sharply reflected in some statements that the boys made in their attempts to explain why they stayed in school:

> Because I wanted to finish. I always wanted to finish high school. My friends were always above average and I was about average. So that sort of kept me going.
>
> Well when I first started school, I was sickly and they said I would never make it. I felt that I had to make it.
>
> One reason was that I was always told that I wouldn't finish, and I wanted to prove to them that I would. Second, because I want to be real great, and I knew I couldn't without an education.
>
> Because I had an ambition and desire, and the only way I could get it was to finish school. And in the 10th grade I began to enjoy it. I think music really kept me there. School's my bread and butter really; that's where money is coming from.

Not all of the Stay-ins placed these kinds of high aspirations behind their school experiences. A relatively noticeable number perceived their school environments purely as a source of pleasure. It was a pleasant means by which they could accumulate some information about school subjects in which they were particularly interested. They seem to have endured the other subjects in order to get their special interests satisfied. The following statements reflect the way certain special interest courses held them in school:

> I have always wanted to go to school to take art. I like school very much.
>
> I liked architectural drawing. I didn't want to miss school on that account.
>
> Well getting a better understanding of mechanics is why I stayed in school. I wanted to learn the fundamentals and essentials of mechanics.
>
> Everyday when you get up to go to school you'd ask yourself what was there to go for? Some days it was cleaning and pressing, and some days it was ROTC. In the 11th and 12th grades we studied "Macbeth." I understood that and I got enjoyment out of going.
>
> I din't want to let my parents down. Also, the English and math programs interested me. Most kids didn't enjoy it, but I did.

A third group of Stay-ins merely saw going to school as a thing to do. They had accepted the expectations of the adult world and had lived up to them without quarrel or very much self-indulgence. Here are statements illustrating this kind of passive conformity as expressed by many who continued in school:

> I always thought of it (the expectation to remain in school) as a reason to finish. It has always been taught to me, and I knew I had to do it if I wanted to go to college.

> I didn't have anything else to do. All the teachers and my parents expected me to go.
>
> It was just nothing else to do, and if I had quit my father would have made me go to work.

School for the remaining group of Stay-ins was a mixture of many things. It was a source of pleasant associations; a place where academic curiosities could be satisfied; and even an insulator against trouble. The boys composing this group never used some particular aspect of the school environment as a refuge. School to them was a total experience which they pleasantly anticipated.

> I never had any thought of dropping out. The things that I associated myself with were at school--like music or the group I run with. And there was always some girl who kept me interested in going.
>
> I stayed in school because it never occurred to me to do anything else. I have always loved school. You can be with your friends. Another reason, I was always interested in music. I was in the band five years. I liked to make good grades.
>
> I guess most of the time it was fun. The children that I know who did drop out were not having too much fun. They had to go out and get jobs.
>
> I liked the surroundings. I really had no gripes about school. It was better than walking the streets and getting in trouble.

Despite the obvious degree of subjectivity that always haunts an investigator who attempts to stitch the direct statements and feelings of subjects into his work, one impression for us has been inescapable: in all their "saying," Drop-outs and Stay-ins were saying two different things. And so it happened that the school environments actually became different kinds of stimulus situations for Stay-ins and Drop-outs; they came to be perceived as a source of security for the former and insecurity for the latter. The perceptual qualities that members of the two populations manifested, and which elicited differential responses from them, had developed before the boys entered junior high school. This means that those who are to predict dropout behavior must look for their predictors beyond the junior high school level. It means, too, that what is to be predicted is not whether one becomes Stay-in or Drop-out--this is after the horse escapes the corral--but the behavior a boy manifests on his way toward becoming one or the other.

NOTES

Chapter II. DROPOUT BEHAVIOR IN THE NEGRO GHETTO

1. For examples of research in this area, see: R. F. Fortune, Sorcerers of Dobu (London: Routledge, 1932); D. W. Chapman and J. A. Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 34 (1939) 225-238; E. Marks, "Skin Color Judgments of Negro College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 22 (1940) 3-14; K. Koffka, "Perception: An Introduction to Gestalt-Theorie," Psychological Bulletin, 19 (1922) 531-585. For an excellent review of this type of literature, see, also, Muzafer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956) Part II.

2. U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Census of Housing: City Blocks, Houston, 1960 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

3. For the method employed in computing this segregation index, see: Donald Cowgill and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Sociological Review, 16 (1951) 825-831.

4. Directory, Houston Independent School District, 1958-1959.

5. Emphasis has been placed upon the manner in which peer groups in a school climate place pressures upon members of the school population. See: James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963).

6. Some studies have emphasized teachers and classroom climates as sources of pressure upon pupils. For examples, see: D. V. Connor, "Behavior in Class Groups of Contrasting Climate," Journal of Educational Psychology, 30 (1960) 244-249; and Morris Krugman, "Education and the Disadvantaged American," National Education Association Journal, 51 (1962) 8-12.

7. These elements, especially irregular school attendance and school grades, have been found by other scholars to be major problems manifested by Drop-outs. For an example, see Solomon O. Lichter, Elsie B. Rapien, Frances Seibert, and Morris A. Sklansky, The Drop-outs (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962) Chapter 10.

CHAPTER III

TRANSITION TO PERSON-CENTERED FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

When asked why he does not drink like many other boys of his neighborhood, a Stay-in replied, "Because my old man drank us out of a house and home." When presented with the question in reverse, a Drop-out tersely answered, "Because it's there." It was "there" for both types of boys and yet their response were diametrical. The Negro ghetto, with its relaxed system of social control and its "luxury" of freedom from conformity to the general community norms, becomes a force that compels rejection of its ways on the one hand and acceptance of them on the other. Its dual "personality" offers a choice to both Stay-in and Drop-out alike. The kind of choice that is made defines the kind of boy who enters any junior high school that serves the ambivalent ghetto; it tells us that the Stay-in may experience a poverty of culture but not a culture of poverty.

Differential responses strongly suggest that the Drop-out, if he is to be adequately understood, must be viewed as a person and not as a type (an identification so strongly underscored in the nomenclature of many studies that deal with this kind of American school child). If we are to explain why a boy tends to become Stay-in instead of Drop-out, or vice versa, we must look for reasons that are lodged within the boy himself and within the structural operation of the primary life that surrounds him.

We should have known this long ago. At birth, the individual American enters a primary world (called here his social-cultural matrix) that initiates and directs his passage to adulthood. Within this world he is exposed to both enculturating and acculturating forces geared to prepare him for accepting and participating in the setting of his life situation, and for aspiring to participate in one that represents a higher order. Martin Loeb put it very well when he concluded: "Thus the American child is taught in countless ways to simulate his parents, and is also taught that there are probably better ways and certainly less desirable ways of living. We may say, then, that the American child is brought up not only learning a system of behavior and values, but also learning, to some extent, to be discontented with them."[1] Like a teeter-totter, enculturation and acculturation seem to compete for a position of dominance in a boy's life. The end that receives the greatest weight seems to determine the direction in which a boy's life will be inclined.

Early scholars concerned with deviancy, especially as related to crime and delinquency, placed their emphasis upon the personal characteristics of the individual while recognizing external forces as makers of these characteristics. But even here, human choice was seen as an interactive course of events within which the socializer and the socialized had something to say about that toward which the developing individual's identification would be directed. Though highly particularistic in his approach, Cesare

Lombroso succeeded in reminding us that it is a particular kind of person who habitually follows a criminal career. In our rejection of "the criminal man,"[2] we did not overlook the criminal person. Since the appearance of Lombroso's work, many scholars have approached the understanding of criminal or deviant behavior through personal characteristics and the factors that produce them.[3] Through this case study methods as applied to delinquency, William Healey gave personal factors and conditions making for such a dominant place in his analytical scheme,[4] and Ernest Burgess supported this view with his concept of "the delinquent as a person."[5] Apparently, there is promise in a more generalized theory for understanding deviant behavior; focus upon the person and person-making factors seems to constitute the heart of this theory. Dropout behavior seems to be a member of the larger family of human deviancy.

Therefore, our first step in seeking to isolate and identify factors capable of explaining dropout behavior was to begin the search within the person-structure of the boy himself. This was not a test involving personality characteristics as psychologists might use. It was an attempt to measure the extent to which differential responses to school demands would persist even when filtered through the boy's common exposure to areal and academic inadequacies.* This chapter, in making a transition to person-centered factors, describes the degree of areal and academic inadequacy characteristic of each population group; weights the variables of each set as to their power to discriminate between Stay-in and Drop-out populations; tests the strength of each variable under controlled conditions; and assesses the power of each to predict how likley a boy is to become a member of one population or the other. In this way, we can observe the degree to which dropout behavior persists when areal factors are controlled, evaluate the importance of the more personal academic factors in predicting the behavior, and determine the extent to which the predictive power of this kind of factor is unaffected by areal influences.

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*Degrees of areal inadequacies were measured through selective socio-economic characteristics of the city block in which each boy resided. Academic inadequacies were measured through the intelligence quotient, grade achievement levels, and age with which each boy entered junior high school.

AREAL FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

The idea that areal factors make an impact upon dropout behavior is a theoretical assumption that cannot be dismissed without test. The possibility that such an impact does exist has been forced upon behavioral scientists by previous research. It has been a tradition of American sociologists to explain human deviancy, as well as many other forms of human behavior, in terms of the kind of area in which it occurs. Human ecologists concerned with the spatial aspect of social phenomena have been chief perpetuators of this conceptualization. Viewing the city as a complex of territorial divisions sufficiently distinct in cultural composition to represent natural areas, they have shown that rates of occurrence of certain types of social phenomena tend to be distributed over the city according to spatial patterns responsive to these areas.[6] In fact, the distribution has been shown to be so consistent that it inspired the formulation of a theory of gradiency within the ecological conceptual frame.[7] Inspired by confidence in a universal tendency toward ecological gradiency, E. Franklin Frazier extended the conception to include the Negro ghetto, and attempted to explain many features of the urban Negro family through its use.[8]

When researchers observed substantial correlations between areal variables on the one hand and variables involving rates of delinquency, mental disorders, marriage, and birth on the other, areal characteristics became established as factors accounting for differences in these types of occurrences. An essential relationship between place and person was deduced, and community disorganization was accepted as an independent force behind deviant behavior. The absence of this independent force was assumed to foster more general conformity to institutional and community norms, and the sociologist's strong faith in environmentalism was more heavily reinforced.

However, the ecological model does not appear to be sufficient to lend appreciable explanation to the occurrence of dropout behavior. As W. S. Robinson has shown, individual correlations cannot be assumed from areal correlations.[9] Even when rates of behavior correlate significantly with characteristics of the census tracts or city blocks in which they occur, or in which the people who express the behavior tend to reside, no helpful prediction that the individual will behave accordingly can be made. The factor of differential response to an objectively common environmental stimulus prohibits individual prediction from areal factors, and introduces a probability that social disorganization will affect people differentially. There is always the possibility of personal insulation against areal disorganization, for one may find a large population of "good" boys living in midst of a large aggregate of so-called bad ones.[10] Particularly does prediction difficulty result from analyses developed through the study of Negro communities. Residential segregation imposes areal disorganization upon Negroes without regard for class--at least without enough variation to afford any appreciable explanation for the great differences in behavior that those who deal with deviancy must explain.

Areal factors do not seem to be strongly related to dropout behavior among urban Negro boys. Despite the areal limitations to which they are commonly exposed, all of the boys do not seem to respond to these limitations in the same way. Some seem more strongly insulated against economic and social deprivation than others, indicating that forces in their primary worlds have inclined their identifications and aspirations more toward acculturation than enculturation.

Several types of statistical evidence forced this conclusion upon us. One type was based upon the factor of residential propinquity: the idea that there might be "dropout areas" paralleling "delinquency areas" in our large cities. The results of tests utilizing this factor, however, showed that Stay-ins and Drop-outs were generally found to be living within the same areas of the city, although in different blocks. There were 337 Stay-ins and 385 Drop-outs who could be distributed according to block--in that they lived within the corporate limits of the city and could be compared on the basis of socio-economic data as provided by the 1960 census. Of all Stay-ins so distributed, 79.2 percent lived in blocks that included no Drop-outs. Conversely, 81.8 percent of the Drop-outs resided in blocks that had no Stay-ins. Apparently, boys composing the two different kinds of populations had been reared in the same kind of communities--often on the same streets--but had responded to their areal environment in radically different ways.

Another test, graphic in nature, supplied additional evidence to justify this conclusion. The boys were distributed according to their percentage representation in blocks having selected socio-economic characteristics, and the two populations, in turn, were compared with the graphic distribution that would be expected if they did not differ on the basis of these characteristics.*

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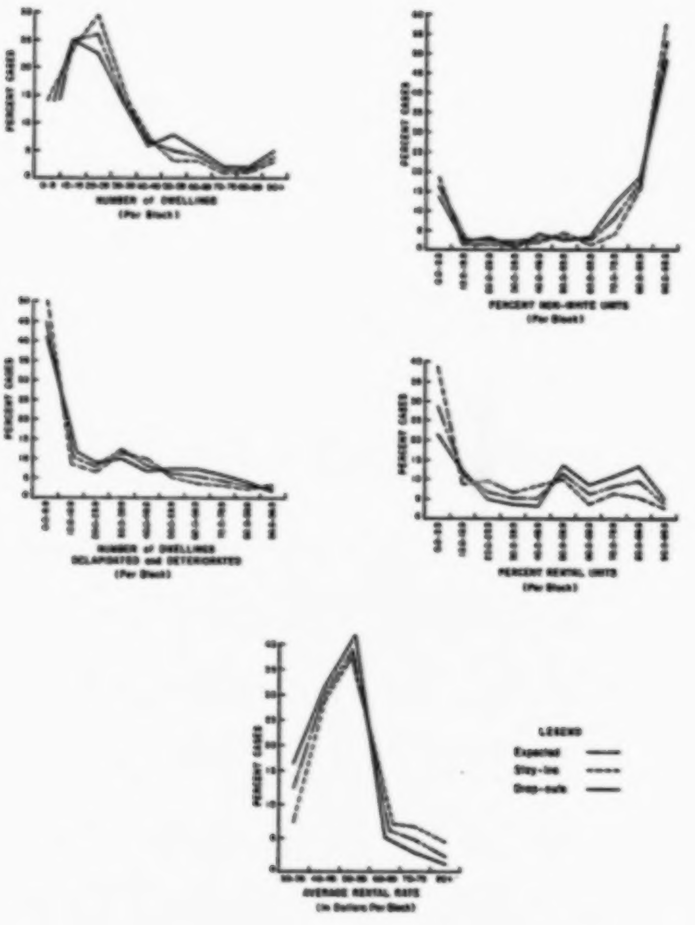
*Rates of expectation were derived from the percentage distribution of the combined populations as based upon frequencies falling at each class interval of the areal index.

Chart 6

Percent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to the Rate of Occurrence of Selected Socio-economic Characteristics in the Blocks Where They Resided*



As shown in Chart 6, the contours of all the graphic designs have one quality in common: their high degree of congruency. The density index--the number of occupied dwelling units per block--failed to discriminate between Stay-ins and Drop-outs. Although the percentage of Stay-ins was higher than the expected at the low-density end of the scale, and lower than the expected at the high-density end, the lines defining the distribution of the two populations as based upon this index move closely according to that defined by the line of expectation. Similar conditions prevailed when the two populations were compared according to the percentage of all dwelling units in their blocks that were non-white and that were deteriorating or dilapidated. Only in the case of percent rental units in each block and the average rental rate in each did noticeable differences between the populations appear. Nevertheless, as will be shown later, the differences did not prove sufficient to establish these factors as dependable prediction variables.

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*For enlargement see Appendix C.

A third test was based upon standardized rates of dropout behavior. This was a test that compared the rates that were computed without regard for the socio-economic characteristics of the blocks in which the boys lived with those that were derived under conditions that equated the boys in terms of block characteristics. Obviously, the former rates were crude; the latter were standardized. The test was run for each element that constitutes a boy's dropout behavior.

Once again, areal factors showed little promise as a prediction index. The percentage of boys who manifested various elements of dropout behavior remained virtually unchanged when all of them were equated by frequency distribution according to the socio-economic characteristics of the blocks in which they resided. On the whole, dropout behavior occurred no more frequently in areas of high density, intense segregation, dilapidated or deteriorated dwellings, high percentage of rental units, or low rental rates than in areas less characterized by these indicators of disorganization.

Table 13

Comparison of Crude and Standardized Dropout Rates As Related to Select Socio-economic Characteristics of Blocks in Which Stay-ins and Drop-outs Resided

Elements of Dropout Behavior	Units per block		Per Cent N-Wh		Per Cent Deteriorated etc.		Per Cent rental		Av. rental Rate	
	SI's	DO's	SI's	DO's	SI's	DO's	SI's	DO's	SI's	DO's
Average days attended (-80 per semester)										
Crude Rate	16.6	72.5	16.6	71.5	17.1	71.5	16.6	71.0	16.6	71.0
Standardized Rate	16.1	72.0	17.1	71.0	18.1	69.9	17.1	71.5	16.6	71.0
Difference	-0.5	-0.5	0.5	-0.5	1.0	1.6	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Grade-point average (D-F per semester)										
Crude Rate	10.9	61.7	10.9	62.2	10.9	62.2	10.9	62.2	10.9	62.2
Standardized Rate	10.4	62.2	10.4	61.1	12.4	61.1	10.9	62.7	11.4	62.2
Differerence	-0.5	0.5	-0.5	-1.1	1.5	-1.1	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0
No. of times retained (2 or more times)										
Crude Rate	5.7	32.1	5.7	32.1	5.7	37.8	5.7	32.1	5.7	32.1
Standardized Rate	5.2	32.1	6.2	32.1	5.7	37.8	5.7	32.1	6.2	32.1
Difference	-0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
No. school activities (less than 2)										
Crude Rate	31.1	68.4	31.1	66.8	31.1	66.8	31.1	66.8	31.1	66.8
Standardized Rate	31.6	68.4	32.1	66.3	31.1	66.8	30.6	67.9	30.7	67.4
Difference	0.5	0.0	1.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	-0.5	1.1	-0.4	0.6

*SI's = Stay-ins; DO's = Drop-outs

Table 14

Relationship Between Selected Areal Factors and Elements of Dropout Behavior As Indicated by Chi-square and the Index of Predictive Association

Areal Factors As Correlated With Elements of Dropout Behavior	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ
Number of dwelling units per block						
Average daily attendance per semester	43.1	.05	83.6	.06	23.5	.00
Average grade per semester	14.0	.00	25.3	.04	26.5	.02
Number of times retained in High School	58.6	.00	29.1	.01	32.6	.00
Number of school activities in High School	34.4	.05	32.2	.05	37.6	.05
Per cent Non-White units per block						
Average daily attendance per semester	13.5	.01	29.4	.01	46.2	.03
Average grade per semester	19.4	.00	31.3	.05	24.9	.02
Number of times retained in High School	22.2	.00	66.9	.04	69.8	.00
Number of school activities in High School	43.0	.03	28.7	.04	34.2	.04
Per cent units deteriorated or dilapidated						
Average daily attendance per semester	17.6	.00	38.8	.04	43.7	.00
Average grade per semester	19.4	.00	32.8	.00	27.8	.00
Number of times retained in High School	21.4	.00	41.2	.00	32.2	.00
Number of school activities in High School	149.3	.09	43.2	.05	28.8	.08
Per cent rental units per block						
Average daily attendance per semester	26.5	.03	54.6	.04	59.2	.01
Average grade per semester	27.2	.01	33.4	.02	29.4	.00
Number of times retained in High School	30.4	.00	46.4	.00	21.0	.00
Number of school activities in High School	59.4	.05	36.6	.04	30.5	.08
Average rental rate per block						
Average daily attendance per semester	60.2	.00	20.5	.02	27.4	.00
Average grade per semester	8.2	.00	18.3	.00	16.6	.00
Number of times retained in High School	26.1	.00	22.3	.02	14.6	.00
Number of school activities in High School	34.3	.04	32.2	.03	13.8	.03

*Chi-square tests at the 5 percent level show significant relationships between elements of dropout behavior and all of the selected areal factors.

Finally, there was a test of the significance and degree of relationship between areal factors and the various elements of dropout behavior. Chi-square tests were run in each instance to determine statistical significance, and the index of predictive association (Lambda) was computed to determine the degree of relationship. Table 14 presents a tabulation of these results. Although areal factors are significantly related to each element of dropout behavior, the strength of these relationships is too weak to establish any of these factors as a relatively important predictive variable. Not one of them is strong enough to reduce the error of assigning boys to some degree of dropout behavior by as much as 10 percent.

Table 15

Relationship Between Selected Areal Factors and Attendance Status As Indicated by Chi-square and the Index of Predictive Association

Areal Factors As Correlated with Attendance Status	Chi-Sq*	Lambda
Number of Dwelling Units per Block	5.10	.07
Per Cent Non-White Units per Block	15.52	.10
Per Cent Units Deteriorated or Dilapidated	4.77	.06
Per Cent Rental Units per Block	35.57	.20
Average Rental Rate per Block	35.27	.21

*Chi-square tests at the 5 percent level show significant relationships between Attendance Status and all of the selected areal factors.

Areal factors show greater predictive strength when related to attendance status--whether or not a boy is a Stay-in or Drop-out. The relationship between these two kinds of variables is significant, and errors of assigning boys to one or the other category of attendance status on the basis of areal factors can be reduced by as much as 21 percent. Obviously, a boy's attendance record, his grades, retainment rate, and participation in school activities do not perfectly forecast his attendance status. These indices of predictive association, as shown in Table 15, are reflecting this fact.

Table 16

Prediction Table for Dropout Behavior
As Based Upon Areal Factors

Failure Scores*	Probability of Stay-in	Probability of Drop-out
222-241	59.1	40.9
242-261	56.8	43.2
262-281	32.5	67.5
282-301	30.8	69.2

*See Appendix C, Table 16B, for percentages that formed the basis for the class intervals of this Table.

The evidence presented as related to areal factors seems to allow one basic pattern of conclusions. It appears possible to predict dropout behavior from variables derived through the socio-economic characteristics of city blocks in which high school boys reside. However, as indicated by Table 16, the prediction tool that our variables yielded promises to give only moderate aid to a counselor who seeks to forecast the educational destiny of a boy. The failure or dropout scores on which our prediction Table is based does not discriminate sharply between Stay-in and Drop-out populations. Although the risk of being Drop-out increases with an increase in score, the highest score barely pushes the risk above the 2-1 level of probability. Forgiving this shortcoming, a counselor is presented with yet another handicap: the data needed to score a boy so that his risk probability can be read from the Table are not readily available to school authorities.

Table 17

Correlation of Various Elements of Dropout
Behavior with the Junior High
School Boy Attended

Elements	Total		Stay-ins		Drop-outs	
	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ
Av. No. Days Attended	115.8	.04	48.9	.03	55.3	.05
Av. Semester Grade	123.6	.05	67.9	.00	85.5	.03
No. Times Retained	46.6	.00	88.5	.00	44.2	.00
No. School Activities	53.3	.03	70.1	.11	52.2	.14
Attendance Status	112.6	.27	-	-	-	-

Despite the findings of previous studies that support the thesis that school climates, as defined in terms of peer relations, condition a child's school participation and success, dropout behavior as manifested by our boys varied little between schools. As in the case of areal factors, the particular school which a boy attended neither increased nor decreased appreciably his risk of attending irregularly, making low grades, being retained, or withdrawing from participation in school activities. Although the Chi-square values listed in Table 17 indicate a significant relationship between the school attended and various elements of dropout behavior, the computed Lambda values fail to establish the school as a dependable factor through which such behavior can be predicted.

These findings led us to reject the social characteristics of a boy's neighborhood, including his school, as direct determinants of his dropout behavior, but to accept them as stimuli to which he responds according to his preparations for dealing with them. They led us to seek the determinants among forces closer to a boy and his primary surroundings.

PROFILE OF ACADEMIC ADEQUACY

Intelligence quotient, grade achievement levels in verbal and quantitative areas, and age at registration in junior high school were made to form a set of variables in the general field of academic adequacy whose relationship to dropout behavior could be tested and whose power to predict this kind of behavior could be assessed. There were reasons for making this choice. Variables derived from this set could be taken as indicators of a boy's preparations for meeting the demands of his school; they could separate the total population of boys into low and high performing groups; and this observation in turn could alert us as to the existence or non-existence of forces in the boy's primary background that tend to insulate him against his inadequacy or to render him more vulnerable to it.

When judged in terms of the expectations of their teachers and our conventional norms for determining scholastic aptitude, Houston's Negro boys who entered junior high school in the fall of 1958 were noticeably retarded. One evidence of this was expressed through the IQ scores the boys posted in their respective records just before leaving elementary school.* Their teachers had concurred that they should enter junior high with an IQ of 99, on the average. The boys had averaged 88, substantially lower than the norm their teachers had set as being essential for satisfactory school work. Over half of them, 53.3 percent, entered their new school with an IQ under 90, and less than 5 percent carried a score of 110 or more. As shown in Table 18, the lower IQ so often attributed to ghetto children had been a common fate.

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*HISD children are usually tested at High 6th grade and just before being promoted to junior high.

Table 18

Numerical and Percent Distribution of 788 Boys As to Intelligence Quotient*

Intelligence Quotient	Number	Percent
50-59	11	1.4
60-69	52	6.6
70-79	151	19.2
80-89	206	26.1
90-99	199	25.3
100-109	130	16.5
110-119	26	3.3
120-129	13	1.6
Total	788	100.0
Mean	88	
Standard deviation	14	

Probably the more serious forms of retardation appeared in the boy's inadequacies as related to verbal and quantitative skills. Here, again, their performances on standard tests had placed them significantly below the hopes of their teachers and the grade level to which they had been promoted. They averaged approximately sixth grade level in verbal and quantitative skills, although they had been promoted to the seventh. Of far greater importance is the fact that almost one-third of them were two grades behind their expected grade level in reading comprehension and language arts, and approximately one-fifth of them were this far behind in mathematical computation and spelling. But of equal importance for our subsequent observation was the fact that some of the boys had forged ahead and achieved levels in excess of what normally was expected of them. Nearly one-fifth were ahead one grade or more in verbal skills, and over one-tenth had reached this point in mathematical computation.

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*All test scores represent random samples of the Stay-in population for purposes of equating Ns.

Table 19

Percent Distribution of 788 Boys as to Their Grade-Achievement Level in Verbal and Quantitative Skills

Grade-level	Reading Comprehension	Language	Spelling	Math Comp.
3.0-3.9	13.7	20.8	11.7	5.7
4.0-4.9	17.6	12.3	11.8	9.9
5.0-5.9	20.1	11.3	12.7	18.3
6.0-6.9	18.5	19.2	21.2	31.3
7.0-7.9	12.8	16.4	23.3	21.2
8.0-8.9	8.4	10.8	10.4	9.5
9.0-9.9	4.3	4.7	6.9	2.9
10.0-10.9	2.3	2.6	1.1	1.2
11.0-11.9	1.9	1.8	0.9	0.0
12.0-12.9	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Mean	6.1	6.2	6.5	6.4
Standard Deviation	2.2	2.3	1.8	1.5

Due to the social promotion program of HISD, the age distribution of the boys at the time of their registration in junior high school did not show the extent of their retardation. They had been expected to enter junior high at approximately 13 years of age. This they did; it was their average, although their ages ranged from 10-18. Table 20 shows the distribution.

Table 20

Number and Percent Distribution of 788 Boys
As to the Age at Which They Entered
Junior High School

Age	Number	Percent
10-12	325	41.2
13-15	420	53.3
16 and over	43	5.5
Total	788	100.0
Mean	13	-
Standard Deviation	3	-

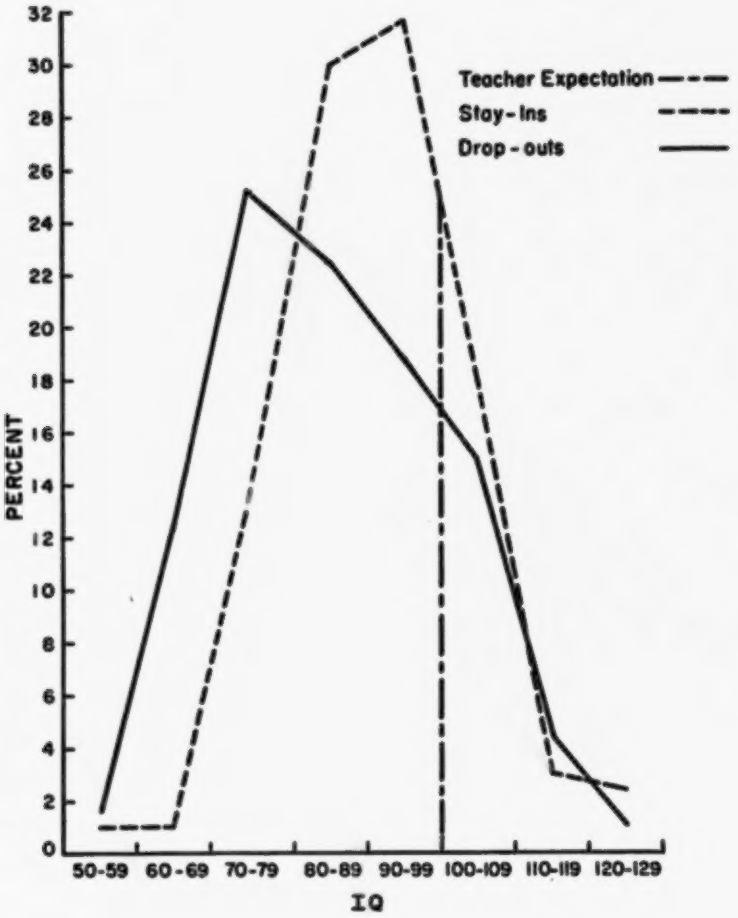
We were left with little doubt that the strength of a boy's academic tools would have some impact upon his educational destiny; that this strength, in some way, reflected the kind of pressure he would experience in his attempt to meet school demands. His teachers were not being absolutely naive in the level of academic adequacy they expected their children to bring to them from the feeder schools. They were conscious of the depressing effects of racial isolation upon the academic maturity of Negro children. No one was more aware of this than they--a group of Negroes who had lived through this kind of isolation. This awareness, however, failed to subdue their feelings that, if upmobility is to occur within the race, the children who come to them must have achieved intellectually at a level comparable to their grade requirements or had to be elevated to this level before leaving them. In either instance, teacher expectations became a source of pressure--testing not only the strength of a pupil's academic skills but also the strength of reinforcement that derived from his background of primary relations at home and in his immediate community. Evidence of this began to show up when we exposed Stay-in and Dropout alike to academic and areal inadequacies.

ACADEMIC TOOLS AS FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

The kind of academic tools the boys carried to their respective junior high schools emerged as a set of factors capable of identifying them as the two different populations they had become. But there were peculiarities involved in this apparently functional relationship between a boy's academic tools and his educational destiny. The significance and degree of relationship depended upon the aspect of his school environment and the kind of boy he was. Differential responses to his school environment continued, though screened through his academic preparations for the school encounter.

Chart 7

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Intelligence Quotient on Enterning Junior High School



Intelligence quotient, one member of the tool test, did prove operative in dropout behavior. First, it proved capable of establishing Stay-ins and Drop-outs as separate populations.[11] As shown in Chart 7, members of these populations differed sharply when compared on the basis of this index. The former averaged 91 as compared with 85 for the latter. Both populations deviated below teacher expectations, but the Drop-outs deviated more sharply in this direction. The Standard deviation computed for the two distributions (12 for Stay-ins and 15 for Drop-outs) display an additional dimension: Stay-ins were more uniform in the distribution of their IQ scores, suggesting that the boys who remained in school throughout their high school careers constituted a more crystallized type.

Table 21

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to IQ Level and Attendance Status

IQ Level	Attendance Status		Total
	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	(in numbers)
Under 80	15.2	39.3	215
80-99	61.7	41.1	405
100 & over	23.1	19.6	168
Total	100.0	100.0	788

Chi-square= 60.9, 2df, $P < .001$
Lambda$_{AS}$ = .24

In meeting our second test, the IQ variable not only showed a significant relationship with whether or not a boy dropped out of school, but also appeared as a reliable factor in the prediction of this indicator of a boy's attendance status. Through the IQ factor alone, one could expect to increase the accuracy of his judgment in classifying a boy as Stay-in or Drop-out by as much as 24 percent.

There were signs, however, that the discriminating force of this factor did not apply equally to all elements of dropout behavior, nor to the two different populations of boys. Whether boys were low or high in IQ rating had little to do with how regularly they attended school--our first element of dropout behavior. Although there is a significant relationship between the two variables--IQ and average number of school days attended--as applied to the total population, one's guess as to whether a boy will attend school less than 80 days or more regularly than this is reduced by only 5 percent when knowing his IQ score. Neither Stay-ins nor Drop-outs showed sufficient sensitivity to their scores to affect how regularly they attended school. The proportion of Drop-outs among those averaging less than 80 days in attendance each semester remained approximately two-thirds irrespective of their IQ-class; conversely, the proportion of Stay-ins averaging 80 days or more remained three-fourths or greater under the same conditions of IQ variation.

Table 22

Percent Distritution of 788 Boys As to IQ-Class
and Semester Average Daily Attendance

	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
IQ-Class	-80	80+	-80	80+	-80	80+
Under 80	25.0	75.0	64.5	35.5	53.5	46.5
80-99	16.9	83.1	67.9	32.1	37.3	62.7
100 & over	12.1	87.9	62.3	37.7	35.1	64.9
Total	17.0	83.0	65.5	34.5	41.2	58.8
N	67	327	258	136	325	463
X^2, 2df	4.3, $P < .20$		.75, $P < .90$		18.32, $P < .001$	
Lambda*	.00		.00		.05	

*Lambda computed for predicting grades.

Similar conditions prevailed in the case of those dropout elements that were defined in terms of number of times retained and number of school activities. There was no significant relationship between these elements and IQ except that the total population of boys yielded a Lambda of .13 for the prediction of number of school activities from this tool.

It was in the area of school grades that a boy's sensitivity to his IQ appeared most apparent. The relationship between these variables, in addition to being significant, is high enough to establish IQ as a factor that predicts how likely a boy can be expected to maintain a school average of A-C or D-F. Knowing his IQ, one could reduce his error of placing him into one or the other of these grade categories by 19 percent. Although the IQ variable failed to predict grades for Stay-ins--since the members of this population persisted in the A-C class irrespective of their IQ scores--it increases one's accuracy of prediction among Drop-outs by 27 percent. Here is one of the most important peculiarities of the differential responses of school children to the demands of their school environments. The Drop-out type seems more vulnerable to his IQ inadequacy than does the Stay-in.

Table 23

Percent Distribution of 788 Boys as to
IQ Level and Semester Average Grade

IQ Level	Stay-ins A-C	Stay-ins D-F	Drop-outs A-C	Drop-outs D-F	Total A-C	Total D-F
Under 80	75.0	25.0	23.9	76.1	38.1	61.9
80-99	92.6	7.4	45.7	54.3	73.8	26.2
100 & over	90.1	9.9	80.5	19.5	85.7	14.3
Total Pct	89.3	10.7	43.9	56.1	66.6	33.4
N	352	42	173	221	525	263
X^2, 2df	15.7, P < .001		59.8, P < .001		115.3, P < .001	
Lambda*	.00		.27		.19	

*Lambda computed for predicting grades

A boy's adequacy in verbal skills also supplied variables that are selectively related to dropout behavior. Both populations of boys fell below the seventh grade level which teachers expected in these areas (except in spelling, where Stay-ins were normal) but Drop-outs showed greater deviation below the standard requirements than did Stay-ins. They averaged 5.6 grades in reading, the same in Langauge Arts, and 5.8 in spelling. These scores differed significantly from the respective averages of 6.7, 6.8, and 7.1 presented by Stay-ins. The differential degrees of adequacy in reading comprehension for the two populations* are shown in Chart 8.

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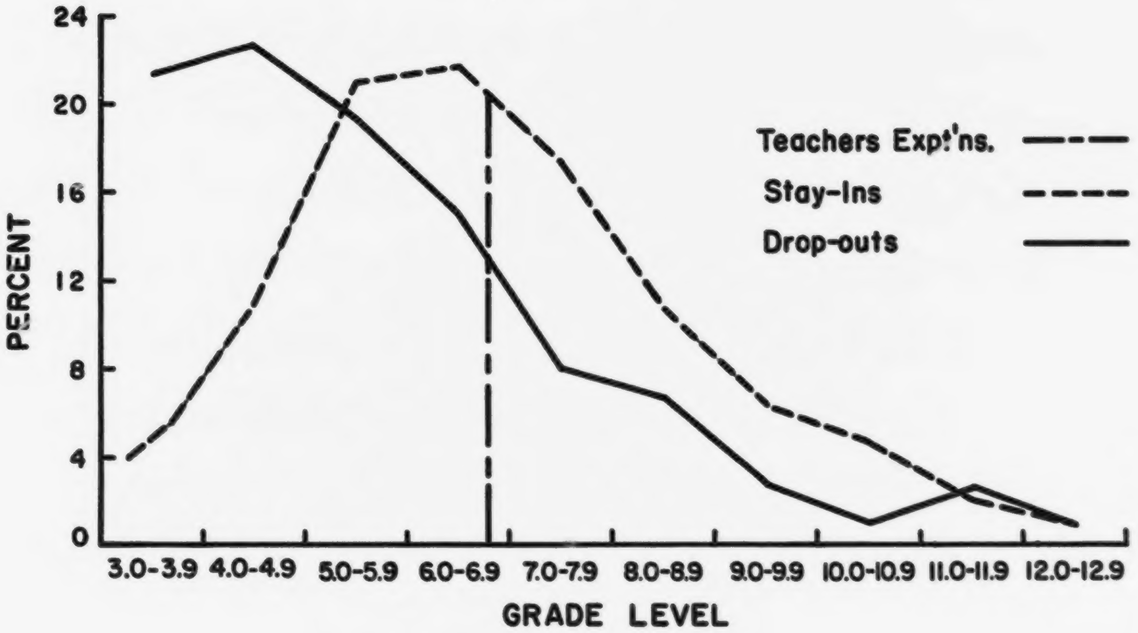
*Because of high intercorrelations, reading comprehension proved highly representative of the boys' verbal skills.

Chart 8

Percent Distribution of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Grade Level in Reading and the Average of Teacher Expectations



Each variable of verbal skills displayed some power to predict dropout behavior, but, in each instance, the power appeared to be operating selectively and fostering differential responses among the boys. Using a boy's scores in reading comprehension, language arts, and spelling, we were able to increase our accuracy of assigning him to the Stay-in or Drop-out population by 31, 19, and 27 percent respectively. However, selectivity appeared when each of these variables was related to each element of dropout behavior for Stay-ins and Drop-outs as separate groups, and for both groups combined to form a total population. As in the case of IQ, it was the element of school grades that proved to be the most sensitive to verbal inadequacy. This was true, however, only in the case of Drop-outs. Knowing a boy's score in reading comprehension increased our accuracy for predicting grades among this population by 27 percent. Except for the predictive index of 11 percent derived from our test of the relationship of reading comprehension and number of school activities for the total population, no appreciable power to predict the occurrence of other elements of dropout behavior was manifested by the reading variable. A similar situation prevailed for language arts and spelling as prediction indicators. Again, we see evidence that the inadequacy of academic tools tends to render the Drop-out more vulnerable to the pressure of school demands than the Stay-in. This predictive pattern persisted in the case of a boy's skill in mathematical computation, where this variable's predictive power reached 28 percent as related to attendance status, but 39 percent as related to the average grades of Drop-outs. In Table 24, values computed from a distribution of scores in reading comprehension are used to represent the boys' profiles in verbal skills.

Table 24

Percent Distribution of 788 Boys As to Grade Level in Reading Comprehension, by Attendance Status and Average Semester Grades

Grade Level	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	A-C	D-F	A-C	D-F	A-C	D-F
Under 6.0	87.8	12.2	32.2	67.8	51.9	48.1
6.0-7.9	89.0	11.0	66.3	33.7	80.6	19.4
8.0 & over	94.0	6.0	75.0	25.0	88.8	11.2
Total Pct.	87.8	12.2	89.0	11.0	94.0	6.0
N	352	42	173	221	525	263
X^2, 2df	2.4, P .30		46.6, P .001		88.0, P .001	
Lambda	.00		.27		.00	

In our various tests of the effects of a boy's academic tools upon his high school career, one general conclusion seems to be acceptable. Although levels of IQ, verbal and quantitative skills are significantly related to the attendance status of school children, and tend to supply a basis upon which a counselor can predict how likely they are to discontinue high school before graduation, differential responses are not blocked. The effects of differential degrees of tool adequacy are not the same for members of the two populations. Apparently, it is this kind of conclusion that most logically explains the overlap of scores that characterize Stay-in and Drop-out populations. For example, we had 168 boys who presented an IQ of 100 or higher, but 48.8 percent of them dropped out of school; we had 215 who presented an IQ under 80, but 27.9 percent of them remained in school. Similar degrees of academic adequacy do not regularly generate similar degrees of risk. The Stay-in seems to be more highly insulated against inadequacy than does the Drop-out. Whether judged on IQ, verbal skills, or quantitative skills, the overlap of the two populations persist, telling us that dropout behavior is the differential responses to the school environment as manifested by two different populations of school children.

THE RELATION OF AREAL FACTORS TO ACADEMIC TOOLS

Areal factors, when observed for the total population of boys, offered little power to predict the kind of academic tools a boy would present.[12] The levels of skills indicated by the variables derived from these tools varied little according to the socio-economic characteristics of the blocks where the boys lived. No areal variable could improve our prediction of any skill-level more than 8 percent. Of course the relationships between areal and skill variables were statistically significant. However, in neither instance was there a relationship strong enough to explain the variance that operated within the combined populations of Stay-ins and Drop-outs. Apparently, statistical significance and sociological significance can have different theoretical implications.

Table 25

The Relationship Between Areal Characteristics and Scores on Selected Academic Tools for 788 Boys As to Attendance Status

Areal Factors As Correlated with Scores on Academic Tools	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ
No. dwellings per block and						
IQ Level	14.0*	.00	18.2	.03	23.7	.00
Reading Comprehension	9.3*	.04	40.3	.00	34.6	.01
Language Arts	5.6*	.02	31.9	.00	32.9	.08
Spelling	31.2	.03	27.4	.08	31.6	.01
Mathematical Computation	15.0*	.00	24.4	.22	25.0	.04
Percent Non-white per block						
IQ Level	20.1	.00	23.1	.06	34.2	.00
Reading Comprehension	9.1*	.02	17.7	.00	13.0*	.00
Language Arts	11.5*	.01	27.8	.00	10.7*	.01
Spelling	10.3*	.02	62.5	.06	24.4	.05
Mathematical Computation	17.3	.00	25.9	.06	29.8	.02
Percent dwellings deteriorated						
IQ Level	31.4	.00	32.4	.12	45.5	.02
Reading Comprehension	17.1	.04	22.2	.00	31.2	.00
Language Arts	6.6*	.00	14.2	.02	15.7	.05
Spelling	18.4	.01	34.9	.00	49.9	.08
Mathematical Computation	21.5	.00	23.1	.08	32.7	.00
Percent units rental						
IQ Level	17.0	.00	66.7	.19	76.1	.00
Reading Comprehension	17.6	.08	26.9	.03	12.7*	.00
Language Arts	9.5*	.02	58.0	.18	26.0	.10
Spelling	15.2*	.01	25.6	.09	17.1	.00
Mathematical Computation	17.4	.00	17.7	.08	11.0*	.00
Average rental rate per block						
IQ Level	12.9	.00	38.3	.16	43.4	.01
Reading Comprehension	4.5*	.04	13.1	.00	18.1	.00
Language Arts	9.2*	.00	48.3	.14	30.8	.07
Spelling	5.2*	.00	34.9	.08	23.2	.00
Mathematical Computation	10.8*	.00	17.6	.01	15.8	.00

*Not significant at level of $P < .05$

There is evidence that the social characteristics of the neighborhood, like the demands of the school environment, become stimuli to which boys respond differentially. Areal factors could explain variance in skill-levels among Stay-ins no more than they could for the total population of boys. Among Drop-outs, however, the explanation was stronger. The prediction of how well a Drop-out could be expected to achieve in mathematical computation was improved by 22 percent through the use of our density variable. The prediction of a Drop-out's IQ could be improved by 19 percent through the use of percent dwelling units in his block that were rentals; and by 17 percent through the average rental rate in his block. Again, we get some evidence of the greater insulation of Stay-ins against social disorganization.

Table 26

Relationship Between Schools and Scores on Selected Academic Tools for 788 Boys As to Attendance Status

Selected Tools	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	χ^2*	λ	χ^2	λ	χ^2	λ
IQ Level	19.1	.09	17.5	.08	19.8	.07
Reading Compreh.	17.9	.05	20.7	.09	18.4	.07
Language Arts	14.2	.04	21.3	.10	16.6	.03
Spelling	22.5	.07	17.5	.15	22.1	.04
Math. Computation	29.6	.03	29.9	.15	12.2	.01

*All χ^2-values significant at .05 level, 2 df.

The particular school that a boy attends bears the same pattern of relationship to the kind of skill level he presents as do the socio-economic characteristics of the area in which he lives. Since the kind of demands schools make upon boys vary little, we can assume that school-tool relationships are reflecting the fact that Houston children mainly attend the school of their area. This condition prevails even under the more liberal transfer policy that HISD instituted to meet the compulsion of desegregation. Using verbal and quantitative achievement variables, along with IQ, we note that prediction in either of these areas is only slightly improved when a boy's school is used as a basis for it.

PREDICTION TABLES AS DERIVED FROM ACADEMIC TOOLS

If a prediction tool is to be useful to a counselor in his attempt to forecast dropout behavior, it must tell him the type of population of which a boy is a member, and how this membership will be expressed. The quality of academic tools our boys carried to junior high school constituted a set of variables from which we could make prediction tables that seem to serve these purposes. The indices of predictive association through which the variables were derived are admittedly moderate, when judged in terms of the amount of variance they explain. Nevertheless, they did show enough discriminative power to establish consistent risk probabilities for the identification of boys according to attendance status (whether they were Stay-in or Drop-out type) and, though not as effectively, according to elements of dropout behavior.

Table 27

Prediction Table for Identifying Stay-ins and Drop-outs As Based Upon the Number of Tool Inadequacies a Boy Possessed

Number of Inadequacies*	Population Type		Total
	Stay-in	Drop-out	
Under two	69.7	32.3	351
Two	56.7	27.1	134
Three	45.4	43.3	205
Four	25.3	74.7	198
Total	50.0	50.0	788

*Where inadequacies are defined as presenting an IQ under 80 and achievement levels below 6th grade.

Academic tools yielded risk probabilities for a boy's attendance status in two ways: the number of tool inadequacies he brought to junior high school, and the kind of inadequacies they were. The data pertinent to this are presented in Table 27. These facts show that the proportion of Drop-outs falling in each class increases directly with the number of inadequacies the class represents. The magnitude of these proportions expresses the probability that a boy is a member of the Drop-out or Stay-in population.

Table 28

Percent Stay-ins and Drop-outs Presenting
Various Kinds of Academic Inadequacies

Kind of Inadequacies	Population Type		Total
	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	
IQ-Spelling-Reading	12.5	87.5	8
IQ-Spelling	25.1	74.9	207
IQ-Math-Spelling	25.6	74.4	199
IQ-Math-Reading	25.7	74.3	214
IQ-Math	26.4	73.6	216
IQ-Reading	26.5	73.5	226
IQ Only	27.2	72.8	228
Math-Spelling	37.4	62.6	398
Math-Reading	38.8	61.2	461
Spelling Only	40.2	59.8	465
Reading Only	41.1	58.9	542
Math Only	42.7	57.3	524
Math-Spelling-Reading	47.8	52.2	180
Spelling-Reading	58.3	41.7	429

When the number of inadequacies is held constant, risk may vary significantly. Two inadequacies of one kind may yield a higher risk than two of another. Table 28 shows a boy's probability of being a Stay-in or Drop-out according to the kind of inadequacies he presents. There is a pattern that prevails. A boy's failure risk (his risk of being a Drop-out) seems to be higher if one of his inadequacies is in IQ, no matter what the others are. Inspection of these facts indicates that it is the IQ that makes the difference in number of deficiencies. There are social-cultural reasons for this pattern. Despite the pressure to achieve that Negro teachers place upon their students, these teachers are responsive to the inadequacies that the students bring to them. Tolerant of these inadequacies, they seek to help the student overcome them by telling them the meaning of what they read but cannot understand, and by lowering their requirements for mathematical achievement under the excuse that most Negro students are weak in this area. They require a student to learn well the mathematics that is taught, but they cater to inadequacy of preparation by reducing the scope to be covered. Pressure in achievement areas, therefore, seems to derive mainly from the necessity of being able to learn at the speed the teachers exact and through the methods of teaching that are employed. Obviously, the teachers have greater control over their teaching methods than over the pupil's speed of learning. The importance of the IQ variable in the syndrome of a boy's academic inadequacies may be telling us this.

Cluster analysis through the intercorrelation of variables derived from academic tools showed that four of these variables best predicted the type of population to which a boy belonged. These were a boy's IQ, his grade level in mathematical computation and Spelling, and the age at which he entered junior high school. Using score or achievement levels as sub-categories, we computed failure scores for each according to the proportion of its population who were Drop-outs. Table 29 presents these data and indicates how well the variables were capable of separating boys of the two population types.

Table 29

Itemized Scoring Guide for a Prediction Table As Based Upon Academic Tools

Level in Academic Tools	Failure Score
Intelligence Quotient	
Under 80	72.8
80-99	28.8
100 and over	25.2
Mathematical Computation	
Under 6th grade	57.3
6.0-7.9	33.2
8.0 and over	11.3
Spelling	
Under 6th grade	59.8
6.0-7.9	31.4
8.0 and over	17.1
Age at entering Jr. High	
Under 6th grade	39.2
6.0-7.9	58.5
8.0 and over	83.3

In the previous Chapter we presented evidence suggesting that the dropout problem in American education rests below the school level; that children who are going to remain in school to complete a high school career and those who are not constitute two different populations who enter school carrying this distinction with them. Our identification of these two populations was based upon criteria that express what we define as "dropout behavior." However, the record that reveals this kind of behavior develops through a time-period that renders the record clinically useless so far as early prediction is concerned. Therefore, we had to predict "the record" through facts that had already become the student's identifying quality and were capable of affording us an opportunity to look at his degree of dropout behavior indirectly and before it actually occurred. Using the weighted failure scores contained in Table 29, a multivariate prediction tool that allows a counselor to classify a boy as to whether he is Drop-out or Stay-in type on the basis of his IQ score, grade levels in mathematical computation and spelling, and age at the time he enters junior high school. Actuarial in nature, this Prediction Table says nothing concerning a particular boy; it merely tells us the probability (in percentages) any boy, whose aggregated failure score places him in a given class interval, is to be Drop-out or Stay-in. Some discontinuity in risk probabilities develops from the fact that the Table's accuracy is obviously dependent upon the width of the class intervals.

Table 30

Prediction Table for Identifying Stay-in and Drop-out Types As Based Upon Score and Achievement Levels for Selected Academic Tools

Failure Score	Drop-out	Stay-in	Total
92.8-112.7	25.6	74.4	100.0
112.8-132.7	30.2	69.8	100.0
132.8-152.7	43.8	56.2	100.0
152.8-172.7	54.2	45.8	100.0
172.8-192.7	55.6	44.4	100.0
192.8-212.7	70.0	30.0	100.0
212.8-232.7	64.6	35.4	100.0
232.8-252.7	87.9	12.1	100.0
252.8-272.7	85.7	14.3	100.0

Although Table 30 affords counselors with a prognostic tool that will warn them as to how likely a boy is to represent a Drop-out or Stay-in type when he enters junior high school, there is need for an instrument that will predict the record of his behavior and identify those properties of his personal background that explain his type. The main question that this kind of instrument would answer is this: How can we expect a boy of one type or the other to respond to his school environment? More specifically, we want to know: How regularly can we expect him to attend school each semester? What kind of grades can we expect him to make? How many times can we expect him to be retained? In how many school activities can we expect him to participate? With these behavioral manifestations dichotomized into levels that are most characteristic of Drop-outs on the one hand and Stay-ins on the other, we were able to establish percentage probabilities that a boy would make one or more of these manifestations.

Table 31

Prediction Table for Forecasting A Boy's Regularity of School Attendance As Based Upon the Number of His Academic Inadequacies

	Average Days Attended	
Number of Inadequacies	-80 Days	80 Days & over
Under Two	35.0	65.0
Two	55.1	44.9
Three	58.2	41.8
Four	61.2	38.8

We have shown earlier that if a boy is going to drop out of school, he will paint warning signs of his inclination across his school record. Table 31 begins a series of instruments that predict various manifestations of dropout behavior; it provides a tool that forecasts the regularity of a boy's school attendance through the number of academic inadequacies with which he begins his high school career. The order of probabilities contained within the Table shows that how likely a boy is to average less than 80 days in school attendance each semester increases with the number of inadequacies he has. Knowing his inadequacies, therefore, forecasts the regularity of his attendance in terms of the dichotomized categories.

Table 32

Prediction Table for Forecasting a Boy's School Grades As Based Upon His Number of Inadequacies in Selected Academic Tools

Number of Inadequacies	School Grades A-C	School Grades D-F
Under Two	82.7	17.3
Two	70.9	29.1
Three	36.5	63.5
Four	19.0	81.0

The most sensitive element of dropout behavior appears to be school grades. When a boy is withdrawing from school, his grades will tend to be low; they will tend to concentrate in the D-F category. Table 32 provides an instrument for predicting this occurrence. It supplies probabilities that a boy will accumulate a semester average of A-C or D-F according to the number of inadequacies with which he is saddled at the time he enters junior high. The sharp differences in risk probability for different numbers of inadequacies reflect the greater sensitivity of the school-grade element as an expression of dropout behavior.

Table 33

Multivariate Prediction Table for Forecasting A Boy's Number of Retainments and School Activities As Based Upon His Number of Academic Inadequacies

Number of Inadequacies	Retainments -2	Retainments 2+	Activities -2	Activities 2+
Under Two	62.0	38.0	44.3	55.7
Two	70.4	29.6	53.9	46.1
Three	48.5	51.5	46.1	53.9
Four	25.4	74.6	65.1	34.9

The less sensitive elements of dropout behavior (number of retainments and number of school activities) can be forecast through the use of Table 33. The efficiency of this Table, however, appears to be severely impaired by the failure of probabilities to change stably as the number of a boy's deficiencies changes.

Table 34

Prediction Table for Forecasting Average Daily Attendance through Tools of Academic Adequacy

Failure Score	Under 80 Days	80 Days & over
92.8-112.7	17.8	82.2
112.8-132.7	27.9	72.1
132.8-152.7	34.9	65.1
152.8-172.7	47.8	52.2
172.8-192.7	38.5	61.5
192.8-212.7	36.8	63.2
212.8-232.7	63.3	36.7
232.8-252.7	57.1	42.9
252.8-272.7	61.9	38.1

The scoring guide presented in Table 29, combining the effectiveness of number and kind of academic inadequacy, forms the basis for the construction of a series of Tables capable of forecasting the probability that a boy will manifest a given degree of dropout behavior. Table 34, the first of this series, predicts a boy's average daily attendance.

Table 35

Prediction Table for Forecasting Average Semester Grade through Tools of Academic Adequacy

Failure Score	A-C	D-F
92.8-112.7	93.6	6.4
112.8-132.7	92.2	7.8
132.8-152.7	86.0	14.0
172.8-172.7	75.0	25.0
172.8-192.7	70.0	30.0
192.8-212.7	50.0	50.0
212.8-232.7	48.4	51.6
252.8-252.7	33.3	66.7
272.8-272.7	27.9	72.1

In forecasting average semester grade through tools of academic adequacy, Table 35 reflects the greater sensitivity of grade performance to a boy's degree of academic inadequacy. Since the probability of failure (of having a D-F grade-average) increases stably with an increase in failure score, we feel that this Table will be more accurate than any of the prior ones.

Table 36

Prediction Table for Forecasting Retainment Rate through Tools of Academic Adequacy

Failure Score	None	One or More
92.8-112.7	93.6	6.4
112.8-132.7	87.4	12.6
132.8-152.7	79.1	20.9
152.8-172.7	70.8	29.2
172.8-192.7	65.0	35.0
192.8-212.7	62.5	37.5
212.8-232.7	61.3	38.7
232.8-252.7	46.7	53.3
252.8-272.7	48.8	51.2

The prediction of retainment was considerably improved when failure was defined in terms of having one or more such deficiency. It is apparent, once again, that the social promotion policy to which we referred earlier reduces a boy's failure risk in relation to this aspect of dropout behavior. It is apparent, too, that a boy's degree of academic adequacy does not discriminate between failure and success in the element of retainment as sharply as in the element of school grades. A similar conclusion can be drawn for Table 37, in which a prediction of number of school activities is provided.

Table 37

Prediction Table for Forecasting Number of School Activities through Tools of Academic Adequacy

Failure Score	Under 2	2 or More
92.8-112.7	41.2	58.8
112.8-132.7	48.3	51.7
132.8-152.7	63.0	37.0
152.8-172.7	50.0	50.0
172.8-192.7	53.8	46.2
192.8-212.7	67.9	32.1
212.8-232.7	60.0	40.0
232.8-252.7	90.9	9.1
252.8-272.7	83.3	16.7

The four elements of dropout behavior that we have tested, though not perfectly associated with actual withdrawal from school, serve to indicate the degree to which a boy has alienated himself from the school's influence. How adequately a boy is prepared academically to cope with the demands of his school environment seems to explain, at least in part, the degree of alienation he manifests. Prediction Tables developed through the use of variables of academic adequacy--IQ, achievement levels, and age at enterning junior high school--give counselors a set of tools by which they can forecast a boy's dropout behavior when he enters junior high and on the basis of a record the boy brings with him.

NOTES

CHAPTER III. TRANSITION TO PERSON-CENTERED FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

1. Martin B. Loeb, "Implications of Status Differentiation for Personal and Social Development," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer 1953) p. 168.

2. Cesare Lombroso, L'umo delinquente (Torino: Bocca, 1896-1897).

3. For a review of studies, see: Edwin H. Sutherland, Criminology (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924) Chapters IV-VIII.

4. William Healey, The Individual Delinquent (Boston: Little, Brown, 1915).

5. E. W. Burgess, "The Study of the Delinquent as a Person," American Journal of Sociology, 28 (1923) 657-680.

6. For examples of this type of research, see Clifford Shaw, et. al., Delinquency Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929); J. H. Bossard, "Spatial Distribution of Divorced Women," American Journal of Sociology, XL (January 1935) 503-507; J. H. Bossard, "Ecological Areas and the Marriage Rate," American Journal of Sociology, XLIV (July 1938) 70-85; R. E. Faris and H. W. Dunham, Mental Disorders in Urban Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); and Henry Allen Bullock, "Spatial Aspects of the Differential Birth Rate," American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (September 1943) 149-155.

7. Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology (New York: The Ronald Press, 1950). See, also, Stuart Lottier, "Distribution of Criminal Offenses in Metropolitan Regions," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 29 (1938-1939) pp. 39-45.

8. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

9. For a critical evaluation of areal correlations, see. W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, 15 (June 1950) pp. 351-357; Leo A. Goodman, "Ecological Regression and Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, 18 (December 1953) 663-664; and Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Davis, "An Alternative to Ecological Correlation," American Sociological Review, 18 (December 1953) 665-669.

10. See these pieces by: Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz, and Ellen Murray, "Self Concept as an Insulator Against Delinquency," American Sociological Review, 21 (December 1956) pp. 744-746; and Frank R. Scarpitti, Ellen Murray, Simon Dinitz, and Walter C. Reckless, "The 'Good' Boy in a High Delinquency Area," in Donald M. Valdes and Dwight G. Dean, Sociology in Use (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965) 123-129.

11. That Drop-outs tend to have lower intelligence quotients than Stay-ins has been reported by other scholars. For an illustration see: Henry G. Stetler, Comparative Study of Negro and White Drop-outs in Selected Connecticut Schools (Harford, Conn: Commission of Civil Rights, 1959) p. 35.

12. Morris Krugman, "The Culturally Deprived Child in School," National Educational Association Journal, 50 (1961) p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

DROPOUT BEHAVIOR IN THE NEGRO FAMILY STRUCTURE

Apparently, a particular kind of support system resting within the primary life of a boy helps to insulate him against such conditions as the pressures of school demands, the disorganizing influences of the area in which he lives, and, in some instances, the academic inadequacies with which he enters junior high school. Stay-ins and Drop-outs commonly exposed to these conditions persist in the manifestations of their respective types by continuing to make differential responses to their school environments. Whenever variables derived from these conditions were correlated with elements of dropout behavior for the two populations separately, it was the Drop-out type that sustained the higher degrees of relationship. Members of this population proved more vulnerable to disadvantaged condition than did Stay-ins.

Our interest now is in showing the sources of various degrees of insulation that seem to expose a boy or guard him against the disadvantages that threaten his high school career. More specifically, we want to display the more ultimate causes of dropout behavior through variables that derive from those primary life situations that supply a boy with insulation or deny him of it. We reason that these will be variables that not only separate the boys into Stay-in and Drop-out types, but will also identify them according to types manifesting lower and higher degrees of dropout behavior. They will be the variables whose degrees of intensity affect Stay-ins and Drop-outs alike, and thereby reflect the weights of insulation that are greater in one type than in another.

Two indicators of a boy's degree of academic adequacy (IQ and school grades) seem to have qualified as light insulators. In our search for heavier ones, however, we turned to the family structure as an additional avenue of pursuit. We did this not only because of the need for testing the power of status variables to explain droput behavior, but also because of our theoretical implications. These are the implications that the influence of family structure per se weighs less heavily in the developmental history of a boy than do the ends to which the structure is directed when it is in action; and that family structure is significant only in the instance of the nature of the impact it makes upon how a boy is reared.

These implications forced upon us a special concept of structural analysis. When one conceives of social structure in the traditional sense, especially as related to the impact of family structure upon school participation, there is an inclination to reason that "like structure, like function." Making the family's socio-economic position a main independent variable in a matrix of causation, traditionalists have reasoned that since money can buy opportunity for children, those who have money necessarily make the purchase; that opportunity is essentially a function of money. Traditionalists have been inclined to reason also that higher classes carry greater pride and higher aspirations; that lower classes are necessarily deprived of a stimulation to develop these qualities; that broken homes almost invariably mean youth failure; that the absence of a father operates a boy's disadvantage; that the matriarchy--a mother-headed family--is essentially not good for a boy's development; and, in general, that boys from broken homes do not do as well as boys from "whole families."[1]

Our data compelled us to reassess these assumptions and to evaluate family structure within a different conceptual framework. We observed that there is a suprisingly large number of instances in which family structure is not an exact reflection of family function; that common structures can serve different functions. We had to reason that a given family structure, when filtered through the values of people whose roles and statuses compose it, can result in a function different from that expected; that it is the intermediary force of human values that refracts structure and thereby directs function. We had to make this departure because too many structures of similar composition resulted in functions that were significantly different. There were too many boys whose family type or socio-economic position, for example, were common, but whose responses to the demands of their school environment were different.

Seeking to test the traditional concept of the structure-function model as compared with our model of structure-values-function, this Chapter delineates those variables of family structure that best identified population types; presents the degree to which the intensity of dropout behavior varies according to them; and assesses their power to predict the attendance status and degree of dropout behavior a counselor can expect a boy to manifest during his high school career. Nine variables were tested for these purposes. They were: (1) family type--as based upon the boy's relation to the head of the household; (2) family size--the number of children in a boy's household; (3) a boy's sibling order in his family; (4) sex composition of a boy's siblings or other children in his family; (5) age of head of the household; (6) educational level of a boy's parents; (7) occupational class of his father; (8) employment status of his mother or female head of his family; (9) and source of his family income.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS IN ATTENDANCE STATUS

Not all of these variables were sufficiently related to dropout behavior to merit inclusion. Neither family size, sex composition, nor age of head of household showed significant relationships to our independent variables of attendance status and elements of dropout behavior. Stay-ins and Drop-outs had grown up in families having about the same number of children. The average number of children composing Stay-in families was 4.4 and that of the Drop-out families was 4.5. Although there were families in which the siblings were all male, Stay-ins and Drop-outs were about equal in this kind of composition. Of the 610 different families from which the boys came, 27.2 percent of the Stay-ins and 28.6 percent of the Drop-outs had grown up among all-male siblings. Heads of Drop-out families were significantly older than those of Stay-in families, with the former averaging 44 years of age as compared wih 39 for the latter, but the age factor was too highly associated with family type to qualify for independence through cluster analysis.

Two structural factors that are usually found to be functionally involved in the socialization process did prove to be significantly related to a boy's attendance status. These were a boy's relation to the head of the family in which he grew up and his sibling order in that family.[2] In the main, the boys grew up in families headed by both of their parents.* Over half or 54.2 percent of them had this kind of exposure. Also, their families were generally representative of all Negro families in the city when compared on the basis of the proportion headed by females. The proportion was 24.6 for the city's Negro families in 1960 and 23.3 for our boys at the time they entered junior high school. Indicating potential for socialization, however, the structural variable that defined a boy's relation to the head of his family successfully separated the boys into the Stay-in and Drop-out populations they represented. Over two-thirds of the Stay-ins but less than two-fifths of the Drop-out grew up in families where both parents were present. Less than one-fifth of the Stay-ins and over one-fourth of the Drop-outs had been exposed to mother-headed family life. A significantly greater proportion of Drop-outs were found to have grown up under grandparents, relatives, and non-relatives. The direction of deviations from the total as manifested by distributions of members of the two respective populations established "with whom a boy lives" as a prediction variable in the situation of attendance status. The index of predictive association derived from the dichotomized distribution says that a counselor could reduce his error of assigning boys to their population types by as much as 30 percent on the average.

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*The term "both parents" is defined to include step parents as well as natural parents.

Table 38

Distribution of 788 Boys According to With Whom They Lived and Their Attendance Status

With Whom Boy Lived	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Both parents	272	69.0	155	39.3	427	54.2
Mother only	76	19.3	108	27.4	184	23.3
Father only	8	2.0	14	3.6	22	2.8
Other relatives	22	5.6	53	13.5	75	9.5
Variable	16	4.1	64	16.2	80	10.2
Total	394	100.0	394	100.0	788	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .30$; $\chi^2 = 99.3$, $P < .001$, 4df.

The factor of sibling order seems to operate in a boy's attendance status along two lines, one of which appears to be more active than the other. The first is the number of pre-school children in a boy's family; the other is the position a boy holds in the sibling order. With regard to the former, the distribution of our boys as shown in Table 39 indicates that Stay-ins tended to be found in families having no pre-school children while Drop-outs tended to come from those having one or more. The predictive value of this variable was .22. On the other hand, Drop-outs more than Stay-ins tended to be the oldest or middle child. Over 90 percent of them occupied these positions in their families as compared with 79 percent of the Stay-ins. Whereas 21.3 percent of the Stay-ins held the only-child position in their families, only 10.4 percent of the Drop-outs held such a position. This aspect of a boy's sibling order offers some prognostic aid in forecasting his attendance status. Its correlation with this dependent variable yielded a prediction index of .11.

Table 39

Distribution of 788 Boys According to Number of Pre-School Children in Their Families and Their Attendance Status

	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
No. Pre-School	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
None	265	67.3	188	47.7	453	57.5
One	82	20.8	71	18.0	153	19.4
Two	35	8.9	76	19.3	111	14.1
Three & over	12	3.0	59	15.0	71	9.0
Total	394	100.0	394	100.0	788	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .22$; $\chi^2 = 60.1$, $P < .001$, 3df.

Among the status variables displaying some power to predict a boy's attendance status, the educational level of the parents and source of family income proved the more efficient. The educational level of the fathers of our boys ranged mainly from 7th grade to high school graduate. However, the fathers of Drop-outs were more likely to be found below the high school level, and far less likely at the college level or above, than were those of Stay-ins. By using the father's educational level, the accurracy of the assignment of boys according to their attendance status could be improved by as much as 26 percent on the average.

Table 40

Distribution of Boys According to the Educational Level of Their Fathers and Their Attendance Status

Father's Educational Level	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Below 8th grade	125	37.8	229	58.1	354	44.9
8th-H. S. graduate	206	52.3	149	37.8	355	45.1
College & above	63	16.0	16	4.1	79	10.0
Total	394	100.0	394	100.0	788	100.0

λ_{AS} = .26; χ^2= 67.7, $P<$ .001, 2df.

A similar pattern prevailed for a distribution of boys according to the educational level of their mothers. Slightly less than two-thirds of the mothers were 8th grade to high school, carrying little difference between Stay-in and Drop-out children whose respective rates were 63.2 and 59.6. Mothers of Drop-outs, like the fathers, carried significantly higher risks of being included at the lower end of the educational continuum. Their rates for grade school or below and college or above were 36.3 and 4.1 as compared with 14.0 and 22.8 for Stay-ins. The prediction index using educational level of the mothers was .22.

Table 41

Distribution of Boys According to the Source of Family Income and Attendance Status

Source of Family Income	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Father only	110	27.9	92	23.3	202	25.6
Mother only	53	13.5	78	19.8	131	16.6
Both parents	178	45.2	107	27.2	285	36.2
Father-children	4	1.0	25	6.3	29	3.7
Mother-children	14	3.6	27	6.9	41	5.2
Father, Mother, Child.	4	1.0	14	3.6	18	2.3
Other sources*	31	7.8	51	12.9	82	10.4
Total	394	100.0	394	100.0	788	100.0

*Includes mainly County welfare aid.

$\lambda_{AS} = .23; \chi^2 = 53.8, P < .001, 6df.$

The source of family income supplied another variable that proved useful in the prediction of a boy's attendance status. The boys' family economy rested generally upon income from the father or from the combined employment of both parents. Almost two-thirds or 61.8 percent of the total population of boys derived their support through these sources. This support pattern prevailed for both Stay-ins and Drop-outs, since the proportions were 73.1 for the former and 50.5 for the latter. Nevertheless, there were significant differences in the two populations as related to support outside these two main sources. A greater proportion of members of the Drop-out population depended upon income from mothers only, supplements from children, or county welfare. The extent to which the distributions of the respective populations deviated from the total made it possible for source of family income to serve as a prediction variable in forecasting a boy's attendance status. The index of predictive association resulting from the correlation of these two variables was .23, in which attendance status was the variable to be predicted.

Table 42

Distribution of Boys According to the Occupational Class of Their Fathers and Their Attendance Status

	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
Occupational Class	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Unskilled, Service, Operative	286	72.6	347	88.1	633	80.3
Skilled	10	2.5	12	3.0	22	2.8
Clerical and above	98	24.9	35	8.9	133	16.9
Total	394	100.0	394	100.0	788	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .16$; $\chi^2 = 35.9$, $P < .001$, 2df.

The occupational class of the chief breadwinner in a boy's family seems to be only slightly related to his attendance status.

The index of predictive association computed for the correlation of these variables was .16. Table 42, though showing the breadwinners of Drop-outs and Stay-ins to differ significantly at the extremes of the occupational scale, fails to present distributions that deviate from that of the total population enough to establish occupational class as having more than slight predictive power so far as a boy's attendance status is concerned.

Table 43

Distribution of Boys*According to the Employment Status of Their Mothers and Their Attendance Status

Employment Status	Stay-ins		Drop-outs		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Not in Labor Force	121	33.4	140	38.7	261	36.0
Part-time Employment	66	18.2	41	11.3	107	14.8
Full-time Employment	175	48.4	195	50.0	356	49.2
Total	362	100.0	362	100.0	724	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .07$; $\chi^2 = 7.9$, $P < .05$, 2df.

*Excludes boys without female head in family, without mothers, or without knowledge of same.

In the literature of youth deviancy, the wayward boy has been usually identified with the working mother.[3] Somehow it has been assumed that mothers who work outside the home necessarily lose control over their children. One following this reasoning would expect the proportion of Drop-outs having employed mothers to be significantly greater than Stay-ins. Our boys did not fullfill this expectation. Less than half of them grew up in families where the mothers were engaged in full-time employment, and the mothers of more than one-third of them were not in the labor force at all. Very little difference in the employment status of mothers existed between Stay-ins and Drop-outs. The proportion of boys whose mothers were in part-time or full-time employment was approximately the same--66.6 for the Stay-ins and 61.3 for the Drop-outs. The similarity of distribution of the two populations according to the employment status of mothers--as shown in Table 43--suggests this variable to be a weak predictor of a boy's attendance status. The Index of Predictive Association derived from the correlation of these two variables indicates that errors in assigning a boy to the Stay-in or Drop-out population type on the basis of his mother's employment status could be reduced by only 7 percent.

STRUCTURAL VARIABLES IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

We cannot overlook structural variables altogether. Certain dimensions of family structure do tend to reflect the values of socializers and indicate how structure is directed as related to a child's socializing experiences. A boy's relationship to the head of the family in which he lives and his position in the sibling order of his family apparently affect in some sizeable way his school attendance status. The socio-economic position of his family (as indicated by the educational level of his parents, sources of his family income, and occupational class of his father) apparently affect the values of his socializers also. This position syndrome likewise affects his attendance status. The acid test, however, is the extent to which the intensity of dropout behavior varies according to variation within the structural type variables.

Table 44

Indices of Predictive Association* Resulting from the Correlation of Selected Structural Variables with Elements of Dropout Behavior

Elements	With whom boy lives			No. pre-school siblings		
	SI's**	DO's**	Total	SI's	DO's	Total
Av. days attended	.00	.00	.18	.03	.00	.15
Av. semester grade	.00	.05	.10	.00	.00	.16
No. retainments	.00	.06	.00	.00	.00	.10
No. school activities	.00	.00	.05	.00	.00	.08

*Where elements are the variables to be predicted.

**SI's are Stay-ins and DO's are Drop-outs.

Structural variables, though significantly related to one or more elements of dropout behavior, did not emerge as efficient predictors. How regularly a boy can be expected to attend school, what kind of grades he can be expected to make, how many retainments he can be expected to sustain, and how many school activities he can be expected to engage in cannot be efficiently forecast through structural variables alone. Two variables--"with whom boy lives" and "number of pre-school siblings in the family" maintained their qualifications as helpful prediction factors when tested for their power to forecast the intensity of dropout behavior. Although the power is slight, data contained in Table 45 show that a counselor can improve his guess concerning a boy's behavior by use of these variables. Also, conditions measured by the variables tend to strike Stay-ins and Drop-outs alike. In the main, the correlation of each variable with each element of dropout behavior, where population type was held constant, virtually disappeared or showed little difference between the two populations. Despite the limitations of their predictive power, we accept these data as indicating that a boy's relationship to the head of his family and his position in his family's sibling order are not conditions to which Stay-ins and Drop-outs respond differentially; that they are family situations that provide insulation against school pressures, areal disorganization, and certain kinds of academic inadequacies.

The variables that we used as indicators of socio-economic position showed no greater power to forecast a boy's intensity of dropout behavior than did those indicating a boy's relationship to the head of his family and his position in the family's sibling order. Status variables apparently qualified as insulators, in that they seem to affect alike Stay-ins and Drop-outs who are commonly exposed to them, but their forecasting power would necessarily require additional strength from other kinds of variables in order for them to be useful to a counselor.

Table 45

Indices of Predictive Association Resulting from the Correlation of Selected Class Variables and Elements of Dropout Behavior

Elements	Educational Level (Father)	Educational Level (Mother)	Occupational Class (Father)	Employment Status (Mother)
Days Attended				
Stay-ins	.00	.00	.00	.00
Drop-outs	.00	.00	.00	.00
Total	.09	.15	.10	.07
Grades Achieved				
Stay-ins	.00	.00	.00	.00
Drop-outs	.00	.00	.00	.00
Total	.12	.17	.13	.00
No. Retainments				
Stay-ins	.00	.00	.00	.00
Drop-outs	.00	.00	.00	.00
Total	.00	.00	.00	.00
No. Activities				
Stay-ins	.00	.00	.00	.00
Drop-outs	.00	.00	.00	.00
Total	.11	.10	.11	.01

STRUCTURAL VARIABLES IN ADACEMIC ADEQUACY

Contrary to what previous literature has led us to believe,[4] family structure variables, within themselves, do not appear to be strong enough to affect considerably our expectations as to the degree of academic adequacy with which a boy will enter junior high school. With whom a boy lives, though statistically related to the kind of test scores he carries to junior high, yields only a slight degree of association when the two sets of variables are correlated. Table 46 presents a basis for this conclusion as related to a boy's IQ. Among the boys who grew up in families having both parents present, the proportion presenting an IQ under 90 was about the same as that represented by those who presented a quotient of 90 or above. In fact, those living with the mother only had a significantly greater proportional representation among the 90 or above boys than among those below 90. Only where boys were living with their fathers only, other relatives, or non-relatives did the differences sharpen. Those having heads who fell in one of these groups tended to concentrate within the lower IQ-class. Nevertheless, generalizing as to the kind of IQ a boy will present on the basis of his relationship to the head of his family seems to be a risky business.

Table 46

Distribution of Boys According to With Whom They Lived and Their Intelligence Quotient (-90; 90 or over)

With whom boy lives	IQ-Levels (in percentages) Under 90	90 or over	Total (in percentages)
Both parents	58.4	60.3	59.3
Mother only	16.8	27.7	22.1
Father only	4.0	2.0	3.1
Other relatives	11.4	5.0	8.3
Variable	9.4	5.0	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\lambda_{IQ} = .10$, $P < .05$, 4df.

With whom the boy lived is also only slightly related to the levels of mathematical computation and spelling ability he carried to junior high. Although the boy who was living with both parents had a slight advantage over the others so far as preparation in these two academic areas was concerned, the advantage was not great enough to establish this structural variable as a serious factor in either instance of degree of academic competence. Test scores on reading comprehension and Language Arts were in no way related to with whom a boy lived. The number of pre-school siblings in a boy's family also failed to show any degree of relationship to his level of academic adequacy. The idea that having to care for babies or younger children in his family is necessarily a crippling blow to a boy's educational development must be left at the level of hypothecation.

Table 47

Indices of Predictive Association as Based Upon the Correlation Selected Structural Variables and Levels of Adequacy in Selected Academic Areas

Test Areas	With whom boy lived	No. Pre-school children
IQ	.10	.00
Math. Computation	.05	.00
Spelling	.05	.00

Status variables, though displaying a different pattern, were almost as weak as the others. They were significantly related to IQ and achievement in mathematical computation and spelling, but they displayed no power to predict the achievment set. On the whole, status variables seem to influence slightly a child's development in the area of educability, but practically none at all in specific aqademic areas. One must approach this generalization, however, within the framework of the limitations of class variation characterizing the Negro American population. Limited opportunities derived from racial identity keep a large proportion of this population within a small socio-economic range. The range may be too narrow to allow class variations (where indicated by socio-economic characteristics) to make a significant impact upon school participation among Negro children.

STRUCTURAL FACTORS IN PREDICTION TABLES

Despite their lower indices of predictive association, variables of family structure succeeded in separating Stay-ins from Drop-outs with sufficient consistency to constitute a set of factors through which a counselor can predict a boy's attendance status. The five factors whose combination best made the separation are educational level of father and mother, with whom the boy lived, number of pre-school siblings in his family, and occupational level of his father. The percentage of Drop-outs in each sub-category varied with sufficient consistency to reflect increasing risk of failure as a boy's characteristics varied in relation to these factors. Table 48 presents the percentages according to which each boy was scored.

Table 48
Itimized Scoring Guide for Prediction of Attendance Status As Based Upon Selected Structural Variables

Selected Variables and Sub-categories	Failure Score
With whom boy lives	
Both parents	36.3
Mother only	58.7
Father only	63.6
Other relatives	70.7
Variable	80.0
Father's educational level	
Under 8th grade	64.7
8th grade-high school graduate	42.0
College and above	20.3
Mother's educational level	
Under 8th grade	57.5
8th grade-high school graduate	33.8
College and above	10.5
No. pre-school siblings in family	
None	41.5
One	46.6
Two	68.5
Three and over	83.1
Occupational level of father	
Unskilled, service, operative	54.8
Skilled	54.5
Clerical and above	26.3

When used alone, our status variables failed to supply consistency of prediction. Their lower correlations with attendance status deprived us of a gradual increase in risk probability as failure scores increased. This difficulty was overcome by combining such variables with the two structural factors that identified a boy's relationship to the head of his family and his position in his family's sibling order. Table 49, representing a prediction instrument for attendance status, shows the consistency with which risk probabilities change according to changes in failure score.

Table 49

Prediction Table for Attendance Status as Based Upon Selected Family Structure Variables

Failure Score	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
139.4-157.3	5.0	95.0	100.0
157.4-176.3	25.0	75.0	100.0
176.4-194.3	28.8	71.2	100.0
194.4-212.3	32.2	67.8	100.0
212.4-230.3	52.3	47.7	100.0
230.4-248.3	66.2	33.8	100.0
248.4-266.3	72.8	27.2	100.0
266.4-284.3	93.8	6.2	100.0
284.4-302.3	100.0	0.0	100.0
302.4-320.3	100.0	0.0	100.0
320.4+	100.0	0.0	100.0

As indicated by correlation indices, however, family structure variables falter in their power to predict a boy's dropout behavior. Counselors who feel a need to forecast this kind of behavior (degree of regularity of attendance, school grades, number of retainments, and number of school activities) will not find these variables to be as useful as in the case of attendance status.* This is an important limitation, for the real problem manifested in dropout phenomena is not so much a boy's attendance status as it is his behavior--his degree of involvement in school life. Many children who have not dropped out of school officially have withdrwan psychologically. Though they are still listed as being in school, they are behaving as though they were not there. We assume, therefore, that the most useful prediction instruments are those that reflect the degree to which a boy has actually withdrawn from the influence of the school environment, even though the school might not have classified him as such.

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*See Appendix D for Tables Predicting the various elements of dropout behavior through family structure variables.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV. DROPOUT BEHAVIOR IN THE NEGRO FAMILY STRUCTURE

1. See: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research (The Moynihan Report) The Negro Family (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965) pp. 35-37.

2. For examples of research pertaining to the impact of family structure on the socialization process, see A. W. Henry, "Family Role Structure and Self Blame," Social Forces, 35 (1956) pp. 34-38; and R. R. Sears, "Relations of Early Socialization Experience to Aggression in Middle Childhood," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 63 (1961) pp. 466-493.

3. See, Ivan Nye and Lois W. Hoffman, The Employed Mother in America (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963) pp. 138-139; also, James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor Stoker Boll, The Sociology of Child Development (New York: Harper and Row, 1966) p. 226.

4. For examples of studies showing the importance of family structure variables in the academic adequacy of school children, see Martin Deutch and Bert Brown, "Social Influence in Negro-White Intelligence Differences," Social Issues, 20 (1964) pp. 27-31.

CHAPTER V

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

Despite its increasing use of more advanced methods, the American school system is by necessity regimental in its operation. These children who would successfully adjust to its demands must enter the jurisdiction of its influence carrying with them a ready-made inclination to be regulated. This was particularly required of the boys included in this study. In our continuing search for their insulation against the pressures of this regimentation, and for factors more highly capable of predicting their attendance status and dropout behavior, we have turned to a new set of variables which we call "parental involvement."

We had some reason to expect additional predictive strength from this set. The involvement of parents in the social and educational development of their children is inescapable, and this involvement invariably builds experiences that either succeed or fail in preparing a child to handle the school demands that he eventually encounters. The long period of helplessness characteristic of the human infant compels a sustained relationship between parent and child--or parent-surrogate and child--if the infant is to survive. This requirement, involving socializer and child in a matrix of intimate relationships, eventually determines what kind of person the latter will become. Since a child's survival depends upon the intercession of another human being, the matrix becomes a shaping force that helps to determine his social and educational destiny. Those who intercede, and upon whom a child is made dependent, occupy a strategic position in his developmental history. They are the ones who lay down the conditions under which he can get his needs satisfied; it is their values that he must internalize if adjustment to his primary life is to procede satisfactorily;[1] and it is their influence that lays the basis for his personality structure.*

The biological basis for such a sociological arrangement between parent and child is universal. Every society develops methods of rearing its children mainly through parental leadership, and these methods fit neatly into a common framework that renders them culturally comparable. Each seeks to instill some degree of regularity of habits in such matters as nursing, bodily elimination, sexuality, and related drives. Each attempts to channelize the child's aggressions; to impart some basic skills; and to inculcate some kind of system of moral values.[2] Although the direction, content, and intensity of these training methods vary from one culture to another, and even from one class to another within the same culture,[3] the universality is there, and the involvement of parents or other socializers in a child's personal development is rendered inescapable.

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*In taking this position, we adhere to the critical period hypothesis--the idea that a child's basic personality structure is formed through early personal-social conditioning. This hypothesis is under question by some behavioral scientists.

So far as the social and educational development of our boys was concerned, we knew some kind of parental involvement was there. The question was "what kind and to what degree?" It was the complex of direction, content, and intensity of the involvement about which we were in doubt. We wanted to know whether parents had inclined their training methods toward enculturation or acculturation; whether there was a stability about the method; and whether out of a boy's training experiences had come a kind of dependency that anchored his educational career around parental expectations. Since we had postulated the view that Stay-in and Drop-out types enter junior high school as two separate populations, we had to test the boy's early personal-social experiences as factors behind the differentiation. In short, we had to know the power of parental involvement variables to predict the population type in which a boy could be expected to fall and the degree of dropout behavior he could be expected to manifest. As we assorted our data, the impact of certain experiences growing out of a boy's relations with his parents came sharply into focus. These were what may very well be a boy's basic insulation against school pressures, and even against the deteriorating influences of certain socio-economic limitations that operate within his primary life.

THE SUBTLE IMPLICATIONS OF EARLY PERSONAL-SOCIAL CONDITIONING

There were subtle signs that the beginning point of parental influence rested in a boy's early personal-social experiences. For example, each boy had been exposed to specific feeding or nursing pattern during his infancy. The boys had been mainly "bottle" babies, and, as a total group, had remained that way throughout their nursing period. Almost three-fifths of them had experienced this pattern, and only one-fifth had been shifted from breast to bottle or vice versa. Nevertheless, the nursing experiences of the two populations had differed significantly. It was mainly the parents of Stay-ins who had tended to place their babies on a bottle and keep them there. Of the 170 boys whose nursing methods had vacillated between bottle and breast, 55 percent were Drop-outs. Data in Table 50 support the conclusion that the feeding methods of Drop-outs had been significantly different and less stable than those of Stay-ins. The importance of this variable for explaining a boy's attendance status is evidenced by the index of predictive association of .24. This index measures how accurately a boy's attendance status could have been predicted through the methods of early nursing he experienced.

Table 50

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to the Infant Nurising Methods to Which They Were Exposed

Nursing Methods	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Breast only	14.7	28.4	21.6
Bottle only	71.3	47.0	59.1
Variable	14.0	24.6	19.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .24, χ^2= 48.5, P $<$ .001, 2df.

Differences in nursing methods, within themselves, had not been too important. In fact, there had been no significant differences in the two population types as related to other phases of their nursing experiences. Stay-ins and Drop-outs had been shifted to solid foods at about the same period of their infant development (9-12 months) and the majority of both groups had been weaned gradually by the time each had reached this age. Stay-ins and Drop-outs had been started in bladder and bowel training at this age, although the latter had been punished more regularly for soiling than had the former. As we probed more deeply into the attitudes of parents toward their children, or the attitude of those with whom the boys lived during their earlier developmental stages, signs of differences in degrees of involvement became more pronounced. Stay-in children had been more wanted and planned for; they had been accidents of conception to a far less degree than had

Drop-outs. Of the 116 whose births were admittedly regretted by their mothers, 76.4 percent were Drop-outs. Apparently, although we are not sure, attitudes of rejection operated to establish the differentiation of training methods in basic skills the two groups of boys experienced. Each parent seems to have required the boy to perform some chore at one time or another while growing up, but Stay-in parents imposed this responsibility earlier and were far more persistent about it. Stay-ins were held more rigidly responsible for getting to and from school on time, bringing in the newspaper, dressing themselves, and putting away their own clothes and other possessions. Table 51 shows these differences as related to the latter two types of responsibilities, and indicates the degree to which a boy's attendance status could have been predicted by means of the age at which he was exposed to such training experiences. The indices of predictive association (.22 and .26) tell us that knowing something about the age at which a boy's regular training in basic skills was begun would have contributed considerably to the accuracy of one's judgment as to the type of population he was to represent.

Table 51

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to Age At Which They Were Required to Dress Themselves and Put Away Their Own Clothes or Possessions

Age (in years)	Dress Self			Put Away Clothes, etc.		
	SI	DO	Total	SI	DO	Total
1-2	1.3	0.0	0.6	5.8	1.5	3.7
3-4	14.2	4.1	9.1	33.5	11.7	22.6
5-6	42.9	33.2	38.1	34.3	34.5	34.3
7-8	27.4	45.7	36.6	16.5	31.2	23.9
9 & over	12.7	16.2	14.5	7.9	16.5	12.2
Variable	1.5	0.8	1.1	2.0	4.6	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
χ^2	52.8, $P < .001$, 5df.			85.3, $P < .001$, 5df.		
r Training	.22			.26		

Those training experiences that seem to have pointed most directly to a boy's academic and cultural development also proved to be the most virile variables growing out of his early training experiences. They were able to separate Stay-in and Drop-out types more effectively than the others, and thereby yielded a greater power to forecast a boy's attendance status. The bases for this conclusion were laid when parents told us how regularly they read stories to their children at pre-school age; how often they practiced them in reciting the alphabets (as is the custom of many Negro parents) and reading for themselves; and how frequently they took them to the Zoo, museums, parks, etc. Once the two populations were separated according to these experiences, Stay-ins were found to be considerably more highly favored than Drop-outs. As indicated by Table 52, parents of the former group read stories to their boys much more often. They practiced their children in reciting alphabets and reading more; and took them to the Zoo, museums, and parks with much greater regularity. Of the 160 boys to whom stories were almost never read during their pre-school years, 70 percent were Drop-outs. Drop-outs also composed 77 percent of the 58 boys who almost never experienced practice in reading, and 71 percent of the 139 who almost never experienced trips to the Zoo, etc. The power of these three variables to predict a boy's attendance status compels the conclusion that a boy's type is a function of the degree to which he was exposed to such experiences.

Table 52

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to Degree of Regularity Exposed to Selected Training Experiences

Degree of Regularity	Read Stories to Child			Practiced Child in Alphabet and Reading			Took Child to Zoo, Museum, Part, etc.		
	SI	DO	Total	SI	DO	Total	SI	DO	Total
Often	57.4	26.7	42.0	75.4	56.6	66.0	58.4	23.3	40.9
Seldom	30.7	42.1	36.4	21.1	32.0	26.5	30.7	51.8	41.2
Almost never	11.9	31.2	21.6	3.5	11.4	7.5	10.9	24.9	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
χ^2	85.3, $P < .001$, 2df.			35.7, $P < .001$, 2df.			101.8, $P < .001$, 2df.		
λ Training	.31			.19			.35		

Subsequent analysis showed that the differential intensities with which Stay-ins and Drop-outs were exposed to these training experiences did not constitute a complex of methods that were of great influence within themselves. They were the intermediaries that facilitated the establishment of stronger and more numerous linkages between a boy and his parents or socializers. Two kinds of linkages were to emerge as dominant factors in a boy's educational career: linkages of dependency and linkages of mutual expectation. Persistency in training, accompanied by apparent rewards for success and punishment for failure, seems to have established the chief socializer in a boy's early life as an agent of secondary reinforcement. There was to develop between socializer and child a system of mutual expectations that would become a Stay-in's strongest insulation against school pressure and socio-economic limitations. Failure in persistency was to strip the Drop-out of a goodly portion of his insulation and expose him more harshly to the various patterns of stimuli that threatened both types of boys with equal force.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN ATTENDANCE STATUS

One of the strongest in the set of parent-child linkages was the system of mutual expectations that developed. This system was rather obviously expressed through how a boy thought his parents felt about his leaving school, how his mother said she actually felt, and how close a boy felt he was attached to his father. In all of our testing, a boy's mother emerged as the most stabilizing force in his educational career. This condition prevailed whether it was his natural mother or some other female who actually acted out the maternal role in his family. Only a small proportion of the boys felt that their parents wanted them to withdraw from school. Most, or over half of them, felt that their parents would try to talk them out of a desire or inclination to withdraw. The insulation, however, was not in a parent's "talking" but in his threat to "act." This is the point at which Stay-ins and Drop-outs separated most sharply. Almost two-thirds of the Stay-ins had felt that their parents would not let them quit school even if they wanted to withdraw. Only 2 percent of the Drop-outs reported having such a feeling. Of the 265 boys who had felt this way, approximately only 3 percent eventually withdrew from school. How a mother feels about her son's dropping out of school, therefore, appears to be a counselor's most efficient predictor as to which population a boy represents when he enters junior high school. Knowing a mother's feelings about her son's withdrawal from school, a counselor could improve his guess as to a boy's attendance status by as much as 66 percent on the average.

Table 53

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to How They Thought Their Mothers Felt About Their Withdrawing From School

How Boy Thought Mother Felt	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Would like him to quit	1.0	0.0	0.5
Did not care	0.5	13.0	6.7
Would try to talk him out of it	28.4	82.2	55.4
Would not let him quit	65.3	2.0	33.6
Does not know	4.8	2.8	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .66; χ^2 = 388.5, P $<$ .001, 4df.

A boy's father is not without influence when judged in terms of this variable. In over one-half of the Stay-ins as compared with 28.4 percent of the total population, the boys felt that their fathers would not let them quit school. Of all the boys who felt this way, over 95 percent were Stay-ins. Although the predictive power of this variable, when changed to how the father felt is less than that involving the mother, the index of .51 reestablishes the boy's expectation of his father's feelings as an important factor in attendance status.

Table 54

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to How They Thought Their Fathers Felt About Their Withdrawing From School

How Boy Thought Father Felt	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Would like him to quit	0.5	0.5	0.5
Did not care	1.5	21.8	11.7
Would try to talk him out of it	33.2	63.0	48.1
Would not let him quit	54.1	2.8	28.4
Does not know	10.7	11.9	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .51; χ^2= 288.1, P $<$ .001, 4df.

The mutuality of expectations between a boy and his mother was made quite expressive through our analysis. How a boy thought his mother felt about his leaving school and how the mother admitted that she felt were in close correspondence. The predictive index of the mother's feelings as based upon the boy's expectations was .76. Using the mother's feelings alone, one could reduce his error in classifying the boys according to their attendance status by as much as 56 percent. Again, the mother appears closer to a boy than a father. The correspondence between the boy's expectation of his father's feelings as compared with the admitted feelings of the father was only .28 as measured through our predictive index.

Table 55

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to How Close Boys Felt They Were to Their Fathers

How Close Boy Felt	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Does not know father at all	7.6	16.8	12.2
Does not know father very well	1.5	12.9	7.2
Makes it all right with father	36.3	49.0	42.6
Have quite a bit of fun with	21.8	4.8	13.3
Old man's tops	32.8	14.0	23.4
Does not know how he feels	0.0	2.5	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .36; χ^2 = 139.0, P $<$ .001, 5df.

Although the predictive relationship between how a boy thought his father felt about his leaving school and how his father actually felt was substantially lower than in the case of the mother, a father's closeness to his boy certainly operated as an influence in the boy's attendance status. The predictive relationship in this instance was .36.

Table 56

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to How Mothers Rated Their Families

Mother's Rating of Her Family	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Very good (Top) family	36.0	14.7	25.4
Above average among others	24.4	4.6	14.5
About average among others	38.6	70.0	54.3
Just so-so family	1.0	8.4	4.7
Poor reputation among others	0.0	1.8	0.9
Does not care	0.0	0.5	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .41; $\chi^2 = 186.4$, $P < .001$, 5df.

The consequences of the varying degrees of mutual expectations between parents and their children apparently related to the development of high or low imagery of family and son among mothers in particular. Stay-in mothers rated their families higher among other families of the neighborhood than did Drop-out mothers, lending greater strength to the continuation of their sons in school. Data provided in Table 56, along with the predictive index of .41 computed from them, certainly suggest a substantial association between how highly a mother rates her family and whether her son becomes a Stay-in or Drop-out. The absence of any relationship between a father's rating and his son's attendance status suggests, once again, the dominance of a mother in the life of her son.

Table 57

Percentage Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to Their Mother's Degree of Satisfaction with Them

Mother's Degree of Satisfaction	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Downright dissatisfied	0.0	9.4	4.7
Quite dissatisfied	0.5	5.3	2.9
Somewhat dissatisfied	6.3	26.6	16.5
Satisfied in most ways	59.9	51.8	55.8
Completely satisfied	33.3	6.9	20.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .35; χ^2= 172.7, P $\ll$ .001, 4df.

Some kind of understanding between a boy and his mother seems to nourish the mother's imagery and to give her a successful feeling about her son. Stay-in parents were not all satisfied with their sons, but most of them were. They were so much better satisfied than were Drop-out parents that degree of satisfaction could predict attendance status to the degree of .35. This parental confidence reappeared when mothers were allowed to estimate how other people would rate their sons, and to indicate their occupational choice for the boys. Suggesting their importance in a boy's educational career, these two variables of the parental involvement set yielded predictive indices for attendance status to the degrees of .38 and .31 respectively.

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*See Tables 59a and 59b for tabulated results from the use of these variables.

The strong degree of anchorage provided a boy by the system of mutual expectations that develops between him and his parents appears to serve a dual purpose so far as his degree of academic adequacy is concerned. It seems to facilitate the development of his adequacy through the socialization process, and to provide insulation where inadequacy occurs through the inculcation of a value system also provided by the same process.

Our evidence in support of this generalization is not overwhelming, but it does appear strong enough to accept the conclusion as a promising hypothesis. As shown in Table 58, indices of relationship involving the prediction of IQ-level from parental involvement variables ranged from .26 to .11. Though all the indices are relatively small, showing that one's errors in assigning a boy to one population type or another are reduced only slightly by consideration of these variables, it is significant that those involving how a boy thought his parents felt about his leaving school were among the highest. When compared with indices that express the degree to which these same variables can predict a boy's level of adequacy in certain academic areas, we get once more a sign that a boy's home life affects more strongly his potentialities for learning than his actual achievement. One suspects that we are supplied here with a hypothetical model that makes a boy's home life an agency for the development of learning potential, and the school an agency for the actualization of this potential.

Table 58

Indices of Predictive Association Between Parental Involvement Variables and Degrees of Academic Adequacy in Selected Areas

Variables	IQ	Math	Spell	Reading
How boy thought mother felt about his quitting school	.26	.00	.00	.09
How boy thought father felt about his quitting school	.22	.00	.00	.11
How close boy felt to his father	.17	.00	.07	.04
How mother rated family among others of the neighborhood	.14	.00	.00	.13
Mother's degree of satisfaction with son	.13	.00	.00	.00
How mother actually felt about son's quitting school	.12	.00	.00	.07
How mother felt people would rate her son	.11	.00	.00	.00
Mother's occupational choice for her son	.11	.03	.00	.00

This mutual expectation between a boy and his parents also seems to carry some insulating power. It seems to guard a boy against withdrawing from a school under the pressures imposed by its demands or those imposed by the disorganization in the area in which he lives. For example, there were 182 Stay-ins who had presented an IQ-level below 90, but 56 percent of them had thought that their mothers would not let them drop out of school; there were 243 Drop-outs presenting this level of IQ, and none of them had held this kind of feeling about their mother. Approximately 43.9 percent of the Stay-ins presenting this level had held this feeling about their fathers as compared with only 1.5 percent of the Drop-outs. All through this phase of our analysis, there was some evidence that boys with weaker academic tools but exposed to stronger degrees of parental involvement tended to represent Stay-ins more than Drop-outs. As related to the problem of areal disorganization, the insulation was also apparently operative. Of the 54 Stay-ins who lived in blocks where over half of the dwellings were deteriorating or dilapidated, 53.7 percent had felt that their mothers would not let them withdraw from school. Only 3.8 percent of the Drop-outs who lived in such blocks had held this feeling about their mothers. The respective percentages of the same boys who reported having had this feeling about their fathers were 42.6 and 7.5. For the average rental rate of the blocks in which the boys lived, the pattern was very similar in nature. Of all Stay-ins living in blocks having an average rental rate below $50, approximately three-fifths or 58.6 percent had felt that their mothers would not let them stop school. This is quite in contrast to the 1.6 percent of the Drop-outs living in blocks having this rate and who felt this way about their mothers. Likewise, 47.1 percent of the Stay-ins and 3.3 percent of the Drop-outs living in blocks having this average rental rate had held this feeling about their fathers.

Table 59

Percent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs Falling in Each Subcategory of Selected Parental Involvement Variables

Variables and Sub-categories	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
How boy thought mother felt about his leaving school			
Would like him to quit	100.0*	0.0	100.0
Would not let him quit	97.0	3.0	100.0
Would try to talk him out of it	25.7	74.3	100.0
Did not care	3.8	96.2	100.0
Does not know	63.3*	36.7	100.0
How boy though father felt about his leaving school			
Would like him to quit	50.0	50.0	100.0
Would not let him quit	95.1	4.9	100.0
Would try to talk him out of it	34.6	65.4	100.0
Did not care	6.5	93.5	100.0
Does not know	47.2	52.8	100.0
How mother felt about boy's leaving school			
Would like him to quit	nc	nc	nc
Would not let him quit	99.1	0.9	100.0
Would try to talk him out of it	34.3	65.7	100.0
Did not care	0.0	100.0	100.0
Does not know	20.4	79.6	100.0
How close boy felt to father			
Quite a bit of fun with father	81.9	18.1	100.0
Old man's tops	70.1	29.9	100.0
All right with father	42.6	57.4	100.0
Does not know father	31.2	68.8	100.0
Does not know father well	10.5	89.5	100.0
Does not know how he feels	0.0	100.0	100.0

Table 59 (cont.)

Variables and Sub-categories	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
How mother rates family			
Very good (top family)	71.0	29.0	100.0
Above average	84.2	15.8	100.0
About average	35.5	64.5	100.0
Just so-so	10.8	89.2	100.0
Poor reputation	0.0	100.0	100.0
Does not care	0.0	100.0	100.0
Mother's degree of satisfaction with son			
Downright dissatisfied	0.0	100.0	100.0
Quite dissatisfied	8.7	91.3	100.0
Somewhat dissatisfied	19.2	80.8	100.0
Satisfied in most ways	53.6	46.4	100.0
Completely satisfied	82.9	17.1	100.0
How mother thought people would rate son			
Son they'd want	79.3	20.7	100.0
One they'd want son to be like	67.5	32.5	100.0
One they'd want son to play with	42.2	57.8	100.0
Typical boy	35.5	64.5	100.0
Too rough for their son	10.0	90.0	100.0
One to keep their son away from	0.0	100.0	100.0
A boy for the police	15.4	84.6	100.0
Mother's occupational choice for son			
Clerical and above	60.2	39.8	100.0
Skilled	25.9	74.1	100.0
Operative, service, laborer	8.5	91.5	100.0
No choice (left to boy)	61.2	38.8	100.0
Mother's estimation of son's grades at best effort			
A-C	52.0	48.0	100.0
D-F	20.4	79.6	100.0

*Only 4 cases in "Would like him to quit" category; 30 cases in "Does not know" category.

Each boy was scored according to the percentage values in the Drop-out column of Table 59. Their scores for each sub-category of the variables were aggregated to form a total score. Their aggregated scores were made to form a class interval scale, and those boys falling into each class interval were classified as to their attendance status. The Drop-out rate (in percentages) of each class interval indicated the failure risk, and forecasts how likely a boy whose total score falls in that class interval is to be a Drop-out. This Table, therefore, is our prediction instrument for attendance status as based upon parental involvement variables.

Table 60

Table for Predicting Attendance Status
Through Variables of Parental Involvement
(risk rates in percentages)

Failure Score*	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
100.1-180.0	97.8	2.2	100.0
180.1-260.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
260.1-340.0	86.4	13.6	100.0
340.1-420.0	36.9	63.1	100.0
420.1-500.0	4.3	95.7	100.0
500.1-580.0	3.4	96.6	100.0
580.1-660.0	4.8	95.2	100.0
660.1-740.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
740.1-820.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
820.1-900.0	nc	nc	nc

*Source based upon the aggregation of percentage of Drop outs at each sub-category of each variable.

The regularity with which Stay-ins and Drop-outs separate according to the magnitude of their aggregated scores leads us to put a great deal of faith in the strength of parental involvement variables as efficient factors in letting a counselor know the type of population into which a boy will fall. When judged in terms of the sharpness with which the variables can separate the two populations, we must rate their power superior to that shown by other variables we have considered.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND ELEMENTS OF DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

The greater the degree to which parents are involved in a boy's educational career, the smaller the degree to which he will express dropout behavior. This is shown by the significance and degree of relationship we were able to derive from the correlation of our parental involvement variables with those composing our elements of dropout behavior.

This set of independent variables seems most to dominate a boy's degree of regularity of school attendance. Of the 61 boys who had thought that their mothers wanted them to leave school or did not care whether they left or not, 65.6 percent had averaged less than 80 days per semester enrolled. On the other hand, only 16.3 percent of those who had thought their mothers would not let them leave had posted this average. The boys' attendance rates made similar variations according to how they thought their fathers felt about their leaving. Of those who felt their fathers desired that they quit or did not care, 79.5 percent had attended under 80 days as compared with 14.6 percent of those who had felt that the father would not permit their leaving. Similar differences in attendace rate, though less sharp, prevailed for other variables of parental involvement as they were correlated with a boy's degree of regularity of school attendance.

Table 61

Indices of Predictive Association Derived From the Correlation of Parental Involvement Variables and Elements of Dropout Behavior

Parental Involvement Variables	Av. Days Attended	Av. School Grades	Number Retain-ments	Number School Activities
How boy thought mother felt about his quitting school	.46	.07	.06	.24
How mother felt about boy's quitting school	.37	.04	.10	.18
How boy thought father felt about his leaving school	.43	.07	.10	.14
Mother's degree of satisfaction with son	.16	.10	.11	.11
How mother feels people would rate son	.25	.08	.12	.09
How mother rates family	.30	.06	.18	.22
Mother's occupational choice for son	.28	.11	.22	.12
How close boy felt to father	.18	.04	.00	.18
Mother's estimation of son's school grade potential	.13	.02	.00	.05

On the whole, the relationship of this set of variables to elements of dropout behavior was highly selective. As shown in Table 61, the indices of predictive association are considerably more stable for days attended and number of school activities than for school grades and number of retainments. One might hazard the hypothesis that the most important influence of parental involvement is that of keeping a boy interested in school and his educational career.

Table 62

Table for Predicting Average Number of School Days in Attendance Through Parental Involvement Variables (risk rates in percentages)

Failure Score*	-80 Days	80 Days or more	Total
100.1-180.0	4.0	96.0	100.0
180.1-260.0	7.5	92.5	100.0
260.1-340.0	25.0	75.0	100.0
340.1-420.0	47.8	52.2	100.0
420.1-500.0	72.2	27.8	100.0
500.1-580.0	58.3	41.7	100.0
580.1-660.0	57.1	42.9	100.0
660.1-740.0	85.7	14.3	100.0
740.1-820.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
820.1-900.0	nc	nc	nc

*Score based upon the aggregation of percentage of Drop-outs at each subcategory of each variable.

Nevertheless, the combined strength of potential involvement variables allowed us to develop prediction tables that generally yielded high or low risk rates according to the magnitude of a boy's aggregated score as derived from the failure values assigned to the sub-categories of these variables. Already scored on the basis of failure values provided in Table 59, boys falling in each class interval were classified according to their average number of school days attended per semester enrolled. Table 62, representing the percentage of boys in each class interval and according to their attendance categories, becomes an instrument through which we can predict how likely a boy having a given aggregated failure score on parental involvement variables is to attend, on the average, according to one attendance category or the other. Although with some irregularity, the proportion of boys who attended school less than 80 days per semester enrolled increased as their aggregated failure score increased. The Table shows that boys who aggregate a failure score of 420 or more on parental involvement variables average over 70 chances per 100 of attending school less than 80 days per semester. Tables for the prediction of a boy's average school grade per semester, number of retainments, and number of school activities were similarly derived.*

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*For predicting the other three elements of Dropout Behavior, see Table 62A-C, Appendix E.

NOTES

CHAPTER V. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

1. For an excellent study of the dwarfing effects of social isolation upon the personality structure of the developing child, see Kingsley Davis, "A Case of Extreme Social Isolation of a Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45 (1940) 554-565 and ____________________, "Final Note on a Case of Extreme Social Isolation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (1947) 432-437.

2. Some examples of studies dealing with childrearing practices in other cultures may be found in Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: Morrow, 1928); John W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); and Cora A. Du Bois, *The People of Alor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944).

3. Studies pertaining to class differences in childrearing practices include such as Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," in Eleanor E. Maccoby, et. al., eds., *Readings in Social Psychology*. 3rd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958) 400-425; Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, *The Changing American Parent* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958); and Edward Gross, *Work and Society* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell).

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL-SOCIAL FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

The basic way of all living is to need each other. Only in a few cases in nature's scheme do we find the "lone wolf" type of existence. But even here, the wolf is intricately bound to the web of life whose influence he cannot escape. To see this in all its complexitites, one needs only to examine, through ecological literature[1] or direct observation, one of the many biotic communities found throughout nature's illimitable domain.

Of course the human organism is different--ecologically so on the one hand and psychologically so on the other. Its distinctive qualities introduce added dimensions to the compulsions of interdependence or, we should say, organized living. Unlike things of the lower order of life--unlike the ant, for example--man is devoid of ready-made patterns of organization. He must learn them. But they are nonetheless compulsive, for they, too, originate out of the imposition of problems that are too big to be handled by one alone. Also, the interdependency is not always conscious. It is usually spread over areas of human involvement that are so wide that no one individual can completely surround its scope with his awareness.

For purposes here, however, there is a human peculiarity to which we must give uncompromised consideration. It is the dual-purpose nature of human grouping. Man's interdependency serves not only to get some particular kind of work done, but also to get some particular kind of emotional needs satisfied. It is invariably true that wherever we find the formation of sociogroups--organizations developed for the specific purpose of getting some job done--we also find psychegroups that tend to come into existence for the purpose of serving the many emotional needs that are usually generated by more rational organization.[2]

These peculiarities of human interdependency are not at all foreign to the experiences of school children. Although these children are spared many of the complexities of organizational involvement as experienced by their parents and others who compose the adult world, involvement in the complex and rational organization of a school system does not pass them by and leave them untouched by the emotional needs that rationality tends to generate. As we have emphasized so much in this report, the regimental nature of the school organization places heavy pressures upon the children whom it serves. It arouses emotional needs within them and requires each child to seek some kind of adjustment through collective action with other children.

It was this theoretical insight that prompted us to suspect personal-social factors as having significant influence over a boy's response to his school environment and over the degree of dropout behavior a counselor could expect him to manifest. This Chapter presents findings growing out of our test of this insight. It identifies certain personal-social characteristics of our boys--

including the kind of psychegroups with which they identify, tests the relations of these characteristics to his school attendance status, and assesses their power to predict his attendance status and his dropout behavior.

FACTORS OF SELF-IMAGERY

The personal-social characteristics of our boys seem to have affected their educational career in two ways: directly through the force of self-imagery and indirectly through the influence of psychegroups. We observed this as related to the first way when we secured from each boy the kind of imagery he held of his family and himself, and calculated the degree to which each variable of this sub-set of personal-social factors was capable of separating boys according to their population type.

Apparently due to the stronger system of expectations that had developed between them and their parents or parent-surrogates, Stay-ins held a significantly more positive image of their families than did Drop-outs. Over twice as many of the former rated their families as "very good top family." Drop-outs, in the main, saw their families as average or below this level. Over three-fourths of them rated their families this way. Stay-ins, on the other hand, rated their families above average. Over half or 58.4 percent of them rated their families at this level. Differences in rating were sociologically significant as well. The index of predictive association derived from the distribution of boys as presented in Table 63 shows that errors of assigning a boy to the Stay-in or Drop-out population through his own rating of his family could have been reduced by 32 percent on the average.

Table 63

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to the Rating They Gave Their Families

Boys' Rating	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
Very good, Top	29.5	13.5	21.5
Above average	28.9	12.9	20.9
About average	39.1	61.2	50.1
Just so-so	2.5	8.9	5.7
Poor reputation	0.0	3.3	1.7
Does not care	0.0	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .32; $\chi^2 = 94.6$, $P < .001$, 5df.

Consistent with a boy's rating of his family was his estimation of how he thought people would rate him as a person. Here, again, the differences between boys of the two populations were great enough to separate them rather sharply. Almost two-thirds of the Stay-ins as compared with 35.3 percent of the Drop-outs saw themselves as the type of person other people would desire as a son, their son's model, or their son's playmate. Using this rating scheme, a boy's attendance status could have been predicted by as much as 31 percent.

Table 64

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to How They Felt Other People Would Rate Them

Boys' Rating	Stay in	Drop-out	Total
Kind of son they'd want	20.3	9.9	15.1
Boy they'd want their son to be like	29.9	9.7	19.8
Boy they'd want their son to play with	14.2	15.7	15.0
A typical boy	34.8	49.5	42.1
A little too rough for their son	0.5	9.9	5.2
One they'd keep their son away from	0.0	2.0	1.0
A boy for the police	0.3	3.3	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .31; χ^2= 117.3, $P <$ .001, 6 df.

This principle of self-development which Cooley laid down more than a half century ago[3] seems to find no exception in the Negro school boy.* Our boys proved separate in their judgment of themselves. Those who felt their rating as given by other people would be low also attributed such inadequacy to themselves. They were less satisfied with themselves as persons, and they had less confidence in any decisions they might make. The next two tables that follow certainly support the Cooley view of the origin of self conception.[4]

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*One must really wonder if there is any exception at all.

Table 65

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to How Satisfied They Were With Themselves

Boys' Degree of Satisfaction	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
Downright dissatisfied	1.0	6.8	3.9
Quite dissatisfied	4.1	8.4	6.2
Somewhat dissatisfied	22.8	28.2	25.5
Satisfied in most ways	61.4	47.0	54.2
Completely satisfied	10.7	8.1	9.4
Does not know	0.0	1.5	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

τAS= .17; χ^2= 35.6, $P < .001$, 5 df.

Admittedly, the relationship between a boy's degree of satisfaction with himself and his school attendance status is low--made so by the greater confidence on the part of those Drop-outs who are more rebellious against adult authority and are more at war with the adult world. However, intercorrelations involving certain types of boys show that the "looking glass" of which Cooley spoke is never completely covered. For example, the 60 Drop-outs who reported being downright or quite dissatisfied with themselves were the same boys who felt people would rate them as undesirable playmates for their sons or boys whom the police should correct.

Table 66

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to How They Felt Their Decisions Would Turn Out

Boys' Feelings	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
All right	16.2	17.5	16.9
OK, most likely	56.1	44.9	50.5
Maybe yes, maybe no	26.9	33.5	30.2
Most likely a flop	0.8	2.0	1.4
Would be a mess	0.0	1.6	0.8
Does not know	0.0	0.5	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .11; χ^2 = 18.2, P $<$ .01, 5 df.

The greater degree of self-confidence on the part of the more rebellious element of the Drop-out population operated even more strongly to shut out the looking glass, but the reflection of others was not completely erased. Of the original 60 Drop-outs who felt that other people would give them lower ratings, 33 were among the 48 who had rated their families as "just so-so" or as having a poor reputation. All 14 Drop-outs who felt their decisions would be a "flop" or "mess" came from this original 60, although the power of this variable to predict a boy's attendance status was considerably lower than the other personal-social variables of self-imagery we considered.

Table 67

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to Their Estimation of the Grades They Would Post If They Worked At Their Best

Estimated Grade: Average	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
A	41.4	15.2	28.3
B	52.0	49.3	50.6
C	6.6	31.2	18.9
D	0.0	2.8	1.4
F	0.0	1.5	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .29; χ^2= 127.5, $P < .001$, 4 df.

It is very significant as related to our study that the stronger self-confidence of the more rebellious group of Drop-outs *crumbled considerably more in the face of their school pressures.* Drop-outs were noticeably less confident than Stay-ins when they were given an opportunity to estimate the kind of grade-average they would have posted in school had they performed at their best. Although over half of each group placed their best ability at "B" or above, over one-third of the Drop-outs estimated at "C" or below in contrast to less than 10 percent of the Stay-ins. Over 40 percent of the Stay-ins and less than 20 percent of the Drop-outs estimated their abilities at the "A" level. The higher index of predictive association that data in Table 67 yielded suggested that even the self-confident Drop-out tended to dwarf his self-image more than Stay-ins when faced with school requirements.

Table 68

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to Their Level of Occupational Aspiration

Level of Aspiration	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
White collar	70.6	30.4	50.5
Skilled	17.5	44.7	31.1
Operative, service, laborer	4.8	15.0	9.9
Uncertain	7.1	9.9	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .40; χ^2= 131.8, P $<$ .001, 3 df.

Our interviews taught us that the basic elements of a boy's self conception are not solely expressed through how satisfied he is with himself, how he thinks his decisions would turn out, or other media of self-reflection. One can possibly get a closer picture as how a boy sees himself by indirect observation through his aspirations--the goals he sets for himself. In pursuit of this, we allowed each boy to select the occupation of his choice and which he was willing to expend effort to achieve. When judged in terms of our occupational hierarchy, the Stay-ins's occupational aspirations were significantly higher than those of the Drop-out. Members of the former population chose white collar occupations at a rate more than twice that of the latter. In showing the Drop-out to experience a greater attraction to the more mechanical, manipulative, and less skilled occupations, data in Table 68 make level of occupational aspiration one of the most powerful of the self-imagery set as related to a boy's attendance.

Table 69

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to Their Stated Reasons for Remaining in School As Long As They Did

Stated Reasons	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
To further some ambition	44.7	32.0	38.3
To get a better job	20.8	3.5	12.2
Parental encouragement	9.4	10.7	10.0
To have fun	8.1	30.7	19.4
Parental pressure	6.4	11.7	9.0
Fear of being a Drop-out	4.8	0.0	2.4
Had nothing else to do	2.0	8.4	5.2
Encouragement from friends	1.5	0.7	1.2
Took school for granted	1.0	0.0	0.5
Encouragement from teachers	0.8	0.5	0.6
Was doing well in school	0.5	1.8	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .37$; $\chi^2 = 161.2$, $P < .001$, 10 df.

Higher levels of self-imagery and aspirations as held by Stay-ins in comparison with Drop-outs combined to form a psychological state that made the school enviornment a place to be for the former and a place from which to escape for the latter. This was clearly evidenced in the probe-elicited reasons each boy gave for his remaining in school as long as he did. The motivations binding Drop-outs to the school seem to have been temporary in nature and dependent upon how things were going at the time. Those binding Stay-ins were more permanent, utilizing the school as an instrument in a more rational drive-to-goal cycle. Almost two-thirds of the Stay-ins as compared with about half the Drop-outs had held to the school as a means of furthering some specific ambition or to get a better job later in their lives.

Table 70

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to Whether or Not They Had Critical Experiences in School

Critical Experiences	Stay-in	Drop-out	Total
Yes	35.5	61.9	48.7
No	64.5	38.1	51.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λ AS= .26; χ^2 = 55.1, $P < .001$, 1 df.

Also, school life offered more anxiety-building experiences for Drop-outs than for Stay-ins. These experiences were more critical in nature because they not only elicited from the former a feeling of inadequacy, but also because they were unpleasant in nature and thereby reduced motivations to remain in school. Both groups of boys encountered pressures, but, as we have previously shown, the pressures were greater threats to the Drop-outs.

THE FACTOR OF PEER RELATIONS

Variables of the personal-social set continued to affect the school attendance status of our boys through indirect processes that involved peer relations. Differential degrees of self-imagery as had developed between Stay-ins and Drop-outs influenced considerably the type of group allignments they developed. Apparently using their peers more as sources of support for the decisions they had already made with regard to their school career than as sources of help for arriving at these decisions, the boys had identified with psychegroups whose members were capable of supporting their self conception, aspirations and decisions.

First, there had been a tendency for the boys to identify with groups whose membership was composed almost completely of their own kind. The tendency for Stay-ins and Drop-outs to live within separate blocks of the same city area had been meaningful. It had provided a force of physical proximity by which relations between boys of similar conditions were enhanced. We had each boy name and locate those whom he considered his best friends and most regular running mates; we had him identify those chosen as to whether they were Stay-ins or Drop-outs within our population or outside of it. And from this information, we were able to create a series of sociometric designs that showed the ramification of the group-making process as it operated among the boys and the affect structure of each group that was delineated this way. In each design, the attraction of Stay-ins for Stay-ins and Drop-outs for Drop-outs was strongly apparent. Data in Table 71 show that the attraction was so strong that a counselor knowing the number of a boy's running mates who had dropped out of school could have reduced the errors of his guess as to the population type to which a boy belonged by as much as 46 percent.

Table 71

Distribution of Boys According to the Number of Their Running Mates Who Dropped Out of School

Number Running Mates	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
None	86.6	35.5	61.0
One	8.6	23.9	16.3
Two	3.0	15.0	9.0
Three or more	1.8	25.6	13.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\lambda_{AS} = .46$; $\chi^2 = 225.0$, $P < .001$, 3 df.

Members of each population, clinging to their own kind, constituted a master series that bound several groups into a complex having many intergroup likages. As shown in Charts 9A&B, it seems that members of each population were trying to establish and maintain connections with all the boys of its kind in the city. Our designs are purposely simplified.* There were more psyche-groups among Drop-outs than among Stay-ins, but groups among the latter involved larger numbers of members. In either instance, however, groups were connected through leaders whose influence virtually permeated the city without crossing the walls that separated the boys as to their types.

Our interview probes with clusters of these boys (7-14 at a session) showed that the motivations behind their group-making had been strong. The motivations had been common needs which the boys had felt they could meet better by collective than by individual action. For the Drop-outs, they were needs generated by leisure time. Apparently, they were needs to find some comfort in their inclination to be different and in the serious break they had made with adult-inspired norms. The following excerpt from a session of Drop-outs seems heavily themed with needs of this kind:

MODERATOR: Just tell me this. Now what do you fellows usually do?

RESPONSE: We sit around B&P just talking and bullcorn all day.

MODERATOR: Well tell me about that. When you bullcorn all day, what's going on?

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*The number in each circle represents the boy's case in our population. Circles carrying letters identify boys not in our population.

RESPONSES: (in flow)

Well, me and my two colleagues are together most. We go to MBQ (a radio station) and Century Company (a record shop); we dig the tunes over there, and, usually, you know, we dig alcoholic beverages. We just spend that, you know. We talk about educational things such as life, love, and art. We dig that man! That's mighty sharp.

Well, I like sculpture. And I want to go that way. I want to be understood; when I get understood, I'm not a conformist. I don't dig the way other people do. In other words, you call them squares because I'm in my ways.

Mostly me, him, him, and him--we go to MBQ mostly--We're down town on the corner--hustle up on the Joes or something.

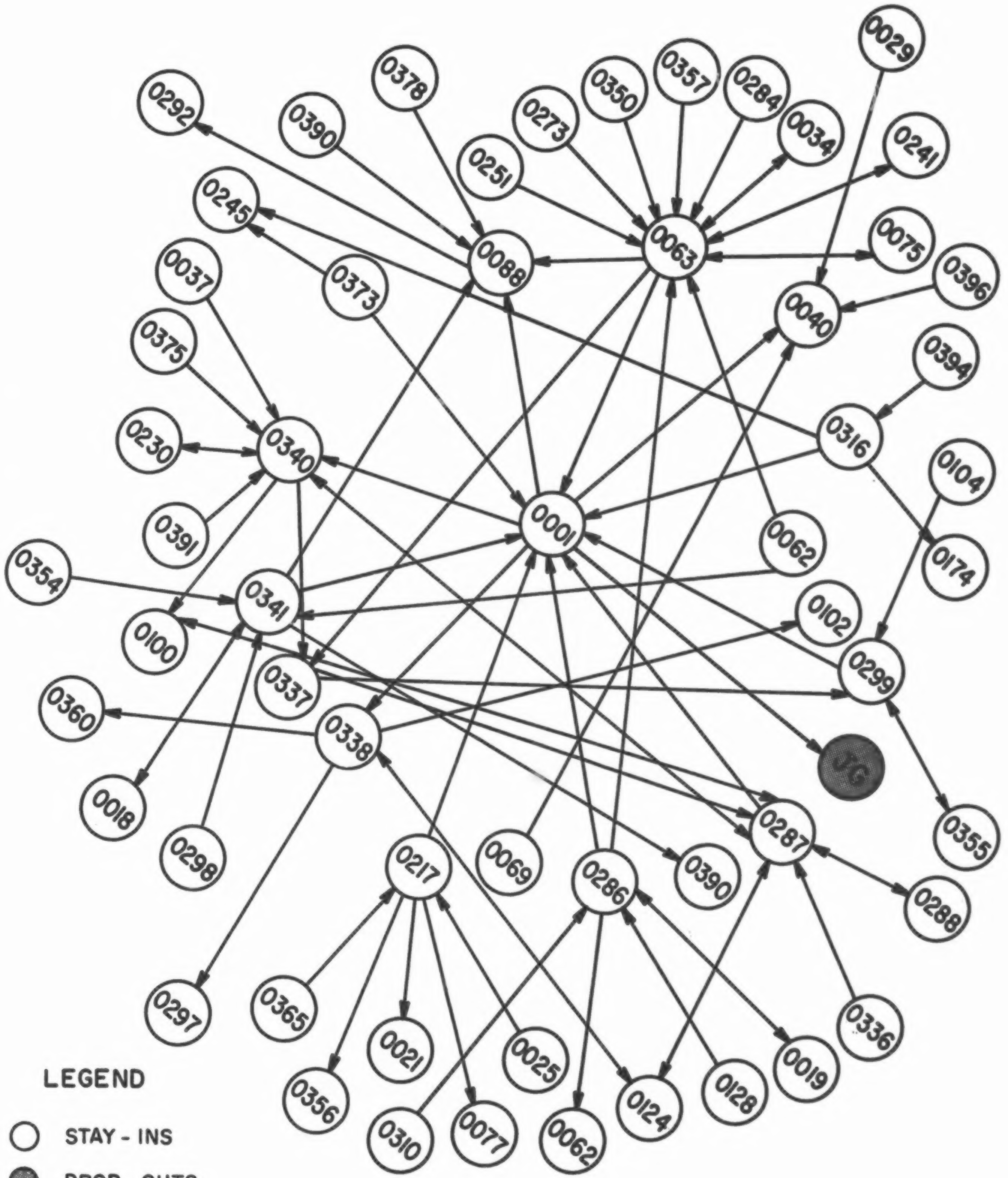
Excuse me. I don't mean to interrupt. This is a frank discussion, right? Now basically, the guys I'm held to.....sometimes these girls. They are on the same groove as ours.

Me and my two partners, we are different from anyone in the entire universe. I was 16; I was in the high 11th and I just dropped out on that record. I was different, man; I was different.

The needs of Stay-ins were likewise emotional; they, too, represented the classic qualities so essential to the formation of psychegroups; they, too, had derived from pressures that had been in some way connected to the decisions they had made. But the responses of Stay-ins had been quite different, resulting in affect structures that appeared the same as those of Drop-outs but had been geared to serve different purposes.

Chart 9A

Sociometric Design of the Affect Structure of Selected Psychegroups of Stay-ins


0029
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0040
0375
0394
0316
0230
0340
0104
0001
0391
0062
0174
0354
0341
0102
0100
0299
0337
0360
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JG
0018
0287
0355
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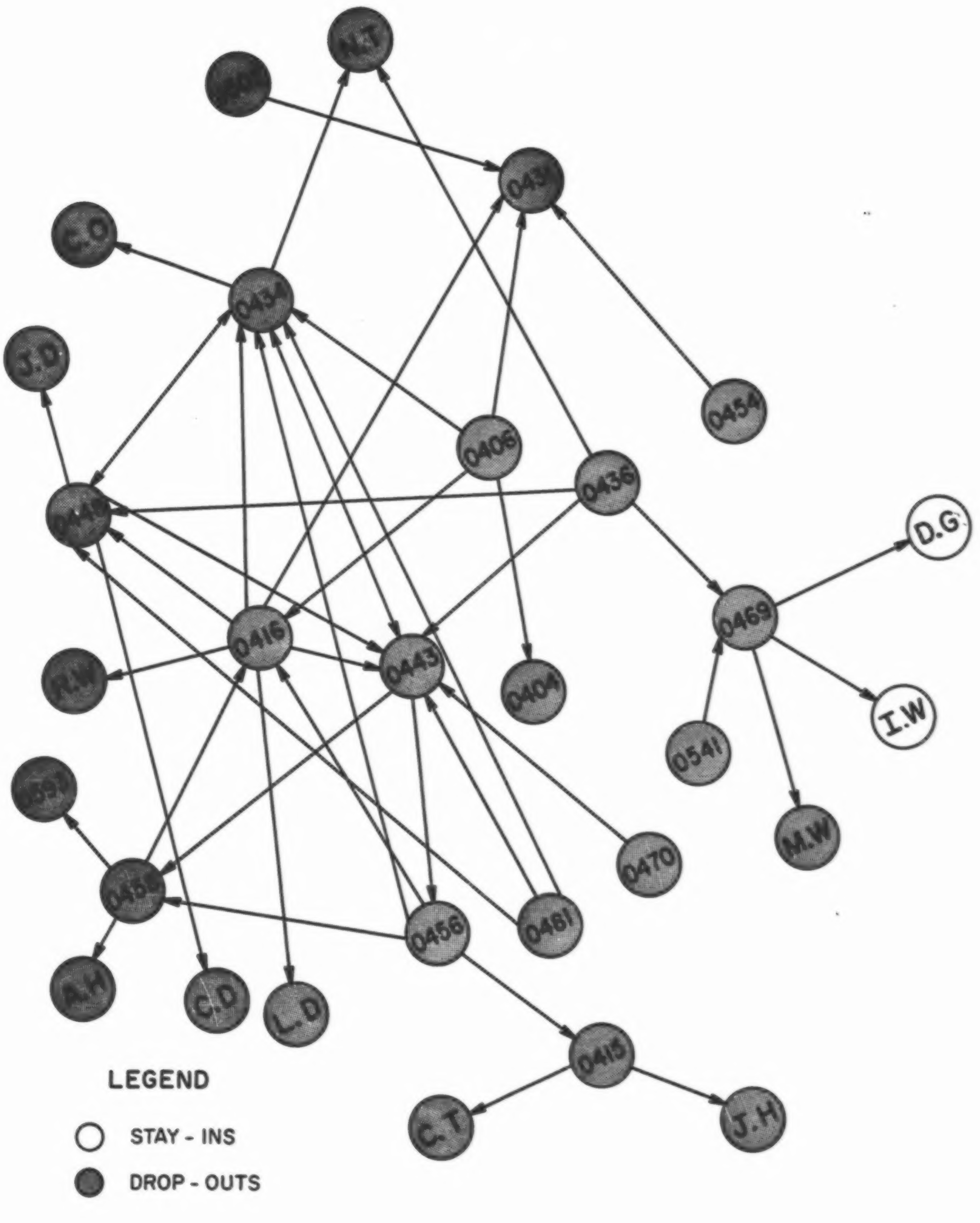
0286
0390
0298
0217
0288
0297
0365
0336
0021
0025
0019
0356
0128
0124
0310
0077
0062
LEGEND
STAY - INS
DROP - OUTS

Chart 9B

Sociometric Design of the Affect Structure of Selected Psychegroups of Drop-outs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D.G
0469
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0443
R.W
0404
0541
I.W
M.W
0470
0456
0461
A.H
C.D
L.D
0415
C.T
J.H
LEGEND
○ STAY - INS
● DROP - OUTS

Almost invariably, the affect structure of Stay-in groups were made to press against the range of adult tolerance without breaking out of it completely. The following excerpt from the transcription of one of our Stay-in sessions is given as an illustration:

MODERATOR: What do you do during the run of a day; what do you usually do--when you're out of school, that is?

RESPONSE: The days I'm not at school I'm usually around the house. When I'm at home I'm usually lying around, if I'm not cutting the yard, that's my only job, to cut the yard. And if I'm not cutting the yard, I'm laying around the house looking, I mean when I'm there. Most of the time I'm out in the street.

RESPONSES: (in flow) When we have get-togethers we include girls and boys mostly about the same age. Most of the time outsiders find out about it. We dance, play cards, and drink. Do a little bit of everything.

We go mostly to parties around the Falcon Club. Mostly every Saturday night. That's about all. Over, a girl's house, maybe.

Most guys our age always think about being with the crowd. And they just go out just because the crowd is going because they don't want to miss; they think they might miss something.

I feel if I miss one weekend of going out, well, I mean, I really did miss something. I have to make up for it the next weekend.

Well, we drink wine, straight wine. Most people after they finish high school finish with wine. Some of them never drink wine. At our parties we get drunk quietly, but its' usually on scotch or rum, or wiskey or beer or something like that.

Interpreting taped interview sessions is usually a hazardous business. One can easily read into the discussion those themes that tend to support pre-conceptions that he had formed. We tried to avoid this by basing our conclusions on a consensus of judges. Nevertheless, we could never escape the lingering interpretation that both groups of boys had sought escape from pressure; that the Stay-ins had been significantly more timid about the way they went about it. Drop-outs had been more bold. Their daring exploits during their leisure time had led them in conflict with legal authority to a significantly greater degree than had the activities of Stay-ins. Almost two-thirds of them as compared with only 2 percent of the Stay-ins had been officially charged with one or more instances of delinquent behavior at the time of our interviews. This record alone predicted the population into which a boy would fall by as much as 36 percent.

Table 72

Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs According to Whether or Not They Had Sustained One or More Instances of Official Delinquency

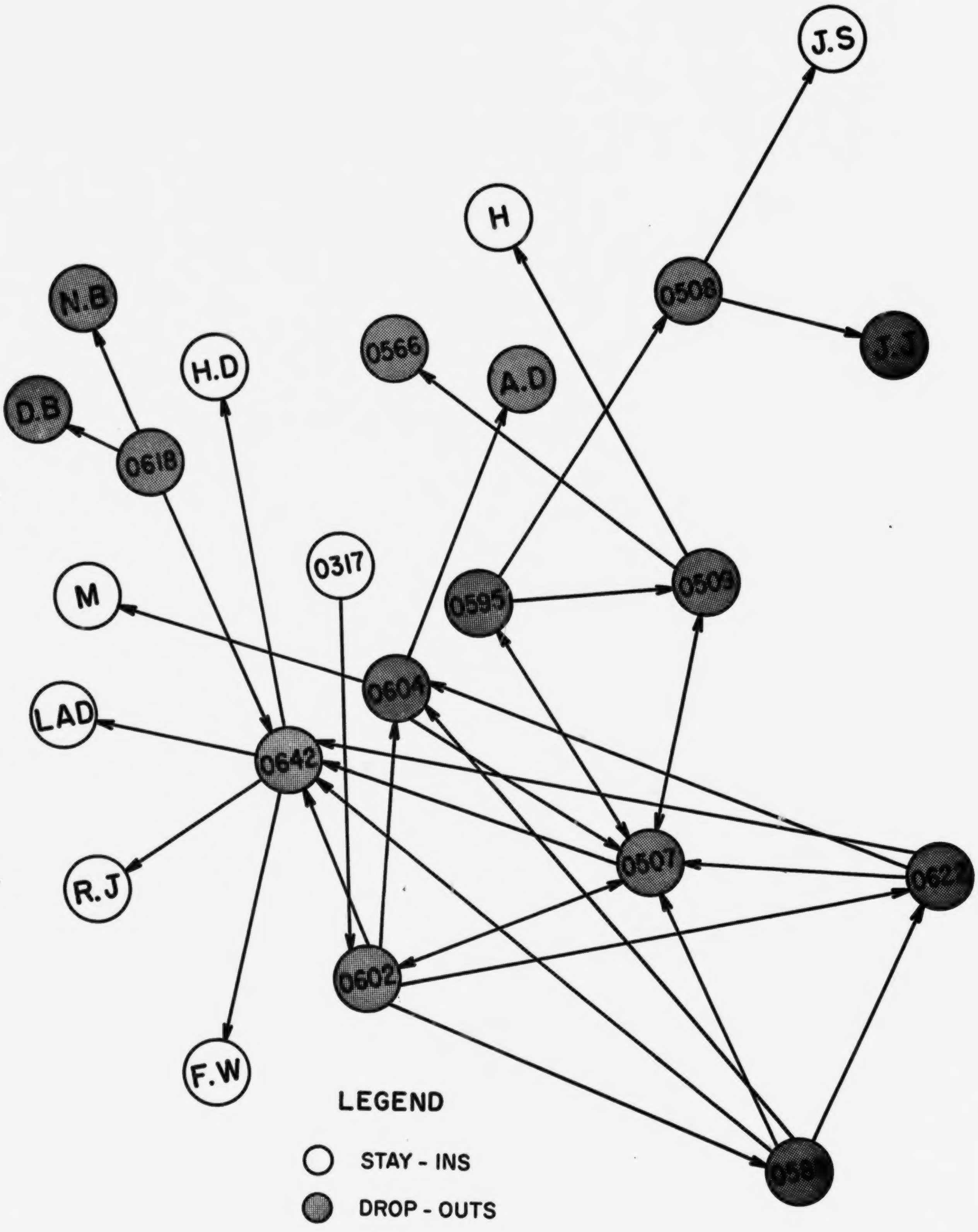
Whether or not Official Delinquency	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
No	2.0	38.1	20.1
Yes	98.0	61.9	79.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

λAS= .36; χ^2= 159.6, $P < .001$, 1 df.

Not all of the boys were satisfied with the decisions they had made about their school career or the peer relations they had developed for the purpose of sustaining them. In almost every psychegroup cluster there appeared at least one boy who was obviously struggling to pass over into what he conceived to be greener pastures. We selected for illustration one cluster of groups that contained boys who were seeking transition. Case 0317 of Chart 10 represents one boy who, though a Stay-in, constantly tottered between Stay-in and Drop-out associates. At the time of our inquiry (the period for which the choice-making was taken) he was cultivating the friendship of 0602, a Drop-out, who had great influence with 0507. The latter was the leader of a powerful but small group of Drop-outs who controlled the area in which 0602 lived. But as Stay-ins tried to escape to Drop-outs, so did Drop-outs try to escape to Stay-ins. Case analysis showed that 0602, himself, was trying to escape through 0642, who had established a budding association with some Stay-ins outside our population.

Chart 10

Sociometric Design of the Affect Structure of Two Selected Drop-out Psychegroups, Showing Attempts at Escape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0604
LAD
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0507
062
R.J
0602
F.W
058
LEGEND
STAY - INS
DROP - OUTS

THE USE OF PERSONAL-SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE PREDICTION OF DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

The close relationship between dropout behavior and our selected variables of the personal-social set gave us many choices in the development of prediction tables through the use of these factors. However, not all of the variables were based upon information usually available to a counselor. Consequently, we had to adopt an "optimum service" principle through which we sought to select those variables that required information most readily available to a counselor, were least interrelated with other variables of its kind as shown through cluster analysis, and were most capable of predicting the degree of dropout behavior a boy could be expected to manifest. With some sacrifice of the interdependency criterion, three variables were finally selected. They were the number of a boy's running mates who had already dropped out of school, whether or not a boy had a record of official delinquency, and a boy's stated reason for remaining in school as long as he did. Table 73 presents a guide according to which a boy can be scored on the basis of these personal-social characteristics. The proportion of Drop-outs falling at each sub-category constitutes the failure score for that category. The summation of a boy's failure scores constitutes his aggregated score for these characteristics.

Table 73

Percent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs Falling in Each Sub category of Personal-Social Variables

Variables and Sub-categories	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Number of Boy's Running Mates Who Dropped out			
None	70.9	29.1	100.0
One	26.6	73.4	100.0
Two	16.9	83.1	100.0
Three or more	6.5	93.5	100.0
Whether or not Boy Had Official Delinquency			
Yes	5.1	94.9	100.0
No	61.3	38.7	100.0
Boy's Reasons for Remaining in School as Long as Did			
To further some ambition	58.3	41.7	100.0
To get better job	85.4	14.6	100.0
Parental encouragement	46.8	53.2	100.0
To have fun	20.9	79.1	100.0
Parental pressure	35.2	64.8	100.0
Fear of being Drop-out	100.0	0.0	100.0
Had nothing else to do	60.0	40.0	100.0
Encouragement from friends	19.5	80.5	100.0
Took school for granted	100.0	0.0	100.0
Encouragement from teachers	60.0	40.0	100.0
Was doing well in school	22.2	77.8	100.0

A percentage distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs according to a class interval scale made by their aggregated failure scores constituted a prediction Table (Table 74) for attendance status as based upon the selected personal-social variables. The strength of these three variables to predict the population type in which a boy can be expected to fall is evidenced by the gradiency of its percentage probability values. The probability that a boy belongs to the Drop out population increases consistently with an increase in his aggregated failure score. Joined with our Table predicting attendance status through parental involvement variables, this instrument of personal social characteristics suggests the greater strength of psychological variables in forecasting attendance status.

Table 74

Table for the Prediction of Attendance Status
through Selected Personal-Social Variables
(in percentages)

Failure Score	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
45.1- 75.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
75.1-105.0	98.4	1.6	100.0
105.1-135.0	91.6	8.4	100.0
135.1-165.0	74.4	25.6	100.0
165.1-195.0	55.8	44.2	100.0
195.1-225.0	20.0	80.0	100.0
225.1-255.0	9.1	90.9	100.0
255.1 and over	0.0	100.0	100.0

Similar consistency prevailed in our attempt to forecast each element of dropout behavior through personal-social variables.*

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*Table 75 presents an instrument for predicting a boy's degree of regularity of attendance. Tables for predicting other elements appear in Appendix F.

Some irregularity was inevitable, since, as we say once again, attendance status and elements are not perfectly related.

Table 75

Table for the Prediction of Regularity of School Attendance through Selected Personal-Social Variables

Failure Score	Under 80 Days	80 Days or More	Total
45.1- 75.0	11.1	88.9	100.0
75.1-105.0	10.3	89.7	100.0
105.1-135.0	41.7	58.3	100.0
135.1-165.0	72.7	27.3	100.0
165.1-195.0	63.6	36.4	100.0
195.1-225.0	71.4	28.6	100.0
225.1-255.0	66.7	33.3	100.0
255.1 and over	100.0	0.0	100.0

Nevertheless, our Tables forecast strongly how regularly we can expect a boy to attend school; the school grade we can expect him to achieve; the number of school activities in which we can expect him to engage; and the number of retainments we can expect him to sustain. Backing them are the significantly high correlations between the three selected variables and each element of dropout behavior. There is evidence that running mates, delinquent conduct, and educational aims are not conditions to which Stay-ins and Drop-outs adjust differentially. They are the insulators that stand between them and the pressures of school demands or the disorienting force of areal disorganization.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI. PERSONAL-SOCIAL FACTORS IN DROPOUT BEHAVIOR

1. Literature pertaining to biotic communities include such reports as: Victor E. Selford, "The Physical Enviornment," in C. Murchison, A Handbook of Social Psychology, Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1935); A E. Emerson, "The Biological Basis of Social Cooperation," Illinois Academy of Science Transactions, XXXIX, (1946) p. 13; and Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950) Chapter 3.

2. Excellent studies showing the imposition of informal organizations on formal structures have been reported in such works as: Edward A. Shils and Morris Janowits, "Cohesion and Disintegration," The Public Opinion Quarterly (Summer, 1948) 280-315; Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California, Harvard Business Research Studies No. 32 (1944) Harvard Business School; and Helen Hall Jennings, Leadership and Isolation (New York: Longmans, Green, 1950).

3. Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902).

4. S. Frank Miyamota and Sanford M. Dornbusch, "A Test of Interactionist Hypothesis of Self Conception," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956) 399-403.

CHAPTER VII

SOME FURTHER TESTS

The effectiveness of any measuring device rests squarely upon its validity and reliability. The device must measure what it is intended to measure, and it must do this consistently. We tried to comply with these conditions in the development of our prediction Tables.

In testing for validity, we actually compared the results yielded by our Tables with those obtained by a device whose validity had already been established. The bench mark was the school record each boy had accumulated between 1958 and 1964, a period that marked the span of his high school career. We knew in advance the boys who had dropped out of school during this time and those who had not done so. We knew, also, how regularly each had attended; the average school grade he had maintained; the number of retainments he had sustained; and the number of school activities in which he had engaged. All of these, our elements of dropout behavior, were a matter of school record--a matter of fact.

Our prediction Tables were constructed devices that were created for the purposes of separating high school boys according to their population type--whether Stay-in or Drop-out--and the intensity of dropout behavior they had manifested. The variables on which the Tables were based, however, were not actually a part of the dropout complex. They were associated with the complex and presented varying degrees of correspondence with the phenomena that composed it. Could our Tables produce the fact or record by means of associated variables? The extent to which they could do this was taken as a measure of their validity. The degree of validity of our Tables displayed was encouraging. Nevertheless, we should warn that the validity must be considered approximate, since it was filtered through indirect measures that failed to duplicate the record exactly.

There is, it seems to us, another dimension of validation our Tables must meet. Unlike many psychometric tools, they were built upon many factors. These factors, though selected for their independent power, are assumed to interact in such a manner as to influence the dependent variable whose intensity they were designed to predict. Do the variables on which the Tables were made constitute a particular kind of configurational pattern that also corresponds to the facts? We needed to validate this interaction.

Even after this was done, there still remained the question of reliability. Did the validity have sufficient approximation to constitute our prediction Tables as reliable instruments for a counselor who seeks to forecast a boy's attendance status and the intensity of his dropout behavior. These are the questions to which we now turn.

A TEST FOR MAXIMUM PREDICTIVE POWER

Certain ones of our selected independent variables yielded a high correlation with attendance status and the intensity of dropout behavior while showing relatively low intercorrelations among themselves. Those best meeting these conditions were: (1) how a boy thought his mother felt about his dropping out of school; (2) the number of his running mates who dropped out; (3) his grade achievement in mathematical computation; and (4) his father's educational level. Failure scores from these variables, available in previous Tables, composed a class interval scale according to which a "hybrid" predictive Table could be constructed. Table 76, an instrument for predicting attendance status, represents the percentage of Stay-ins and Drop-outs one could expect for all boys whose aggregated failure score as based upon the above variables placed them in a particular class interval.

Table 76

Hybrid Table for Predicting Attendance Status As Based Upon Selected Variables

Failure Score	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
44.8- 74.7	100.0	0.0	100.0
74.8-104.7	97.4	2.6	100.0
104.8-134.7	92.6	7.4	100.0
134.8-164.7	76.9	23.1	100.0
164.8-194.7	38.1	61.9	100.0
194.8-224.7	15.2	84.8	100.0
224.8-254.7	4.4	95.6	100.0
254.8-284.7	0.0	100.0	100.0
284.8-314.7	0.0	100.0	100.0

As we had anticipated, the four variables from which the hybrid Table was made separated the boys according to their population type or attendance status more sharply than did any of the other Tables. Confidence in our Tables is further encouraged by the tendency for the most powerful variables of each Table, when combined to form a single prediction instrument, to display the greater correspondence with the fact of a boy's attendance record.

Table 77

Hybrid Table for Predicting Average School Days* in Attendance Through Selected Variables

Failure Score	Under 80 Days	80 Days and over	Total
44.8- 74.7	0.0	100.0	100.0
74.8-104.7	8.6	91.4	100.0
104.8-134.7	0.0	100.0	100.0
134.8-164.7	40.0	60.0	100.0
164.8-194.7	54.5	45.5	100.0
194.8-224.7	73.9	26.1	100.0
224.8-254.7	85.0	15.0	100.0
254.8-284.7	79.3	20.7	100.0
284.8-314.7	66.7	33.3	100.0

*See Appendix G for Hybrid Tables that predict other elements of dropout behavior.

Inspection of the hybrid Tables will show that their power to predict the various elements of dropout behavior is not as great as that with which they predict attendance status. Nevertheless, these Tables still display some superiority over other Tables which we have used to predict these elements.

A TEST FOR CONFIGURATIONAL CONGRUENCY

The work of a counselor is basically clinical. Almost invariably the problems with which he deals are unique to the school child who brings them to him. We want to see how well our Tables, though based upon actuarial methods, could serve a counselor faced with the clinical situation of personal uniqueness.

An examination of our various cases, particularly where overlaps appeared, naturally suggested that the various prediction instruments which we have made should be used as supplements rather than main tools of decision-making. All of the Tables should be employed in formulating therapeutic plans for an American school boy. There are many instances in which one or more Tables will place a boy within the Drop-out population and will show him to be manifesting a high degree of dropout behavior, while others will deny these conditions for the same case. It is necessary, therefore, for a counselor to use the findings from our instruments to put him on track for those characteristics of a boy that might represent the boy's main stumbling block.

In an attempt to devise a method by which this tracking can be done, we exposed our prediction method to what we call a test for "configurational congruency." We reasoned theoretically that because of the uniqueness of the individual, some variables, though few in number, can represent the main forces behind a boy's withdrawal from school. We examined certain kinds of selected cases to determine this; to observe those unique qualities that betrayed a boy under conditions that otherwise stood him in good stead.

We noticed, for example, that some boys who were favored by a high degree of academic adequacy succumbed to the pressures of school demands to a significantly greater extent that some who were less academically qualified. This was one instance of the overlap. We noticed, also, that many of those boys who were classified as Drop-outs by one Table were classified as Stay-ins by several others. How did these boys differ from the others? What were the basic distinctions that our Tables were subtly suggesting? The following case narratives illustrate how we sought to detect the basic distinction through configurational analysis:

The Boy Whom The Schools Lost: J. S. entered junior high school in September 1958 at the age of 13. He enrolled in senior high September 1961 and continued his enrollment through the first semester of 1962. He withdrew from school in 1963.

On the surface, one would say that his withdrawal should never have occurred, meaning that there did not appear any logical reason for it. He was above average in academic qualifications as compared with all Negro boys who entered a Houston junior high school that year. The various tests which the school district administered to him when he was in the high 6th grade placed him in the IQ-range of 100-109, at the 11th grade level in mathematical reasoning and reading comprehension, at the 9th in mathematical computation and spelling, and at the 8th in language arts. As a Negro American school boy, he was far advanced.

Despite this apparent academic advantage, J. S. had progressively expressed dropout behavior in response to school demands. Unlike the majority of boys who had dropped out of school,* he had fallen from almost perfect attendance during his first semester to an average of 36 days during his last. His total average attendance was 65 days per semester. His average school grades had declined also. It had fallen from 3.7 (A-) for his first semester to 1.2 (D) for all semesters enrolled. He had been retained two times during his high school career, but both retainments had occurred during his last three semesters in school. He joined the German Club when he entered senior high school, but failed to remain a member long enough to establish a record of participation in at least one school activity. In short, J. S. manifested each element of dropout behavior. Our Prediction Tables, however, had been unstable about this boy. He had classified as a Stay-in by our Tables of Academic Adequacy and Parental Involvement (having risk scores greater than 50 percent) and as a Drop-out by our Home Structure Table and that of Personal-social variables.

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*Most Drop-outs start low in elements and remain that way throughout their period of enrollment.

In the instance of family structure and parent-child relations, J. S. was surrounded by what we would ordinarily consider to be a stable family life. He lived with his natural parents, both of whom had a grade school education. His family was above average in size--there were six children in all, with 2 pre-schoolers included--but he showed no signs of having experienced a disadvantage from his position in the family's sibling order. As compared with other Negro boys (his score on Home Structure variables notwithstanding) his family was comparatively secure. Although his father was a laborer, and the entire family depended upon the father for sole support, the S's were buying their home and apparently saving some part of their $4,000-$5,999 annual income for the education of their children.

The manner in which J. S. had been reared did not differ sharply from that experienced by Stay-ins. He had thought that his parents would try to talk him out of leaving school; his mother and father verified this in their feelings about the matter; he felt that he and his father got along allright; he valued his family as average among others of the neighborhood; his mother was satisfied with him in most ways; she thought people viewed him as a typical boy; she wanted him to join the Navy as a life work; and estimated that he could do "A" work in school if he really set his mind to it.

But there had been some problems in the life of J. S. about which the combined findings of our Tables were trying to warn us.

The parents of J. S. had been strongly involved in his earlier periods of socialization. In fact, the strings were so tight that the boy was never allowed to go to the neighborhood movies alone until he was 12 years of age, just before he entered junior high school. J. S. became strongly attached to a Drop-out psyche-group. All of his running mates had either dropped out of school or eventually did; he committed several acts of delinquency before leaving school, and, as he put it, "stealing became his trap." But the trap was drinking too. He continued: "We robbed a taxi. I got drunk and needed some money, and so we held up the guy. We stayed in jail about a week and a half." The configurational pattern, as based upon J. S.'s failure scores, showed that it was the personal-social set of variables that betrayed him. Losing respect for himself, his self-image (as indicated by his aspirations and how he thought the adult world viewed him) declined and eroded whatever insulation his academic adequacy and degree of parental involvement had erected between him and the pressures of his school demands.

The Boy Whom The Schools Saved: S. M. also entered junior high school in September 1958 at the age of 13. He enrolled in senior high school as prescribed by his curriculum, and remained there to graduate. He is now a sophomore at a predominantly Negro college.

In contrast to J. S., surface judgment would have saddled S. M. as an academic problem on the basis of his test scores alone.

He scored in the IQ-range of 70-79, was below 6th grade level (he was 5th grade actually) in mathematical computation; at the 3rd grade in reading comprehension; but at the 6th grade in his other achievement areas. He was basically a "reading problem."

Nevertheless, S. M. manifested no element of dropout behavior. He averaged 87 days per semester in school attendance; consistently maintained a school grade average of 2.0 (C); was never retained; and engaged in two school activities. He ran on the track team (both in junior and senior high school) and sang in the choral group. Our Prediction Tables, in the main, had sold him short. They had classified him as a Drop-out on the basis of three sets of variables: as measured by his degree of academic adequacy; parental involvement; and Family or Home Structure. Only in Personal-Social characteristics had they identified S. M. as a Stay-in.

But for S. M., the insulation was there. He had a strong attachment to his mother. His father had died when he was very young, and maternal dependency had apparently shored up what could have become a disasterous system of parental involvement. In speaking of this, S. M. told our interviewer: "There's only my mother and me, so I guess we had to get along. We do have an exceptional relationship." In the end, S. M.'s mother was completely satisfied with her son. She thought he was a model for other parents' sons, and she was willing to back him in any life work he wanted to follow.

There were faults, however. In terms of family structure, life was not too stable for S. M. and his mother. Living only with a mother whose educational level was 8th grade, and whose income from her full-time employment was $2,000-$3,999, the boy had to work also and sacrifice exposure to closer parental supervision. An independence about making his own decisions developed. He gained confidence in his own judgment, developed a strong self-image as estimated by what he felt others thought of him, and held high goals for himself. He was never completely satisfied with himself, however. "I guess I should have put more into getting an education," he lamented, "but I did allright. But I know I should have done better."

He was a prominent member of a small Stay-in psychegroup, and every member of this group entered college the fall after their graduation. Not one case of delinquency was ever reported against them, and, though they admit that they drink occasionally, they relate it with a snickle--as if it is something "naughty" they would like to hide.

A TEST FOR RELIABILITY

In an attempt to test the reliability of our Tables, we applied them to a new population of boys and observed the accuracy with which each instrument could forecast a boy's attendance status and the intensity of his dropout behavior. Drawing a random sample from the file of all Negro boys who entered Houston's junior high school in September 1965, we scored 610 of them according to the scoring guide established for each Table. We developed an aggregated failure score for each boy as based on each Table, assigned each boy a risk probability index according to his score, and compared his subsequent school record with the record that our Tables had predicted for him.

One basic condition interrupted the full impact of this test. The school district, conscious of the seriousness of its dropout problem, took desperate measures to correct it while the study was in progress. Under the leadership of Dr. Alberta Baines, HISD started a movement designed to hold the potential Drop-out in school. Although it was set up early in 1960, the movement did not really permeate the Negro community until the summer of 1965, when public school counselors were put in the field to make contact with wayward children and their parents. The movement became known as the Talent Preservation Program. We do not attempt to describe the Program in detail at this time. We merely want to indicate its objectives and general structure so as to provide a background against which our reliability test had to operate.

The general objectives of the Talent Preservation Program was to hold the children in school. More specifically, the movement aimed to provide "an adjusted program of studies for certain boys and girls entering junior high school." It was "for those who are somewhat older than their group and who have a history of learning difficulties." Children are assigned to the Program on the basis of the following criteria:

1. The child must be no younger than 14 years of age;
2. His IQ must be in the range of 70-90;
3. His achievement scores must show academic retardation of two years or more in reading and mathematics;
4. He must have a "cumulative record of maladjustment and irregular attendance at the elementary school level"; and
5. His parents must give consent for his participation in the program.

There is a high probability that the Program was effective. Differences in the dropout rate experienced by the 1958 generation as compared with the 1965 generation are great enough to compel this conclusion. Two years after our 1958 population of Negro boys had registered in junior high school, 41 percent had dropped out. Of our sample of 610 who entered in 1965, only 38 or 6.2 percent had dropped out by the close of school in May 1967. Of course some of this statistical difference was due to an increasing reluctance of the schools to designate a boy as a Dropout. But even taking this reluctance under consideration, the change still appeared phenomenal. Only 81 or 13.3 percent of those who had not dropped had averaged less than 80 days per semester in school attendance and D-F in school grades. In short, less than one-fifth of the 1965 generation of Negro boys had either dropped out of school altogether or manifested these two important elements of dropout behavior. We cannot say for sure that the improvement was effected through the Talent Preservation

Program. After which, therefore, on an account of which is risky logic. Nevertheless, that the more informal, pace-as-pace can, motif of the Program did reduce school pressure for some children who were inadequately prepared to meet it attests to the Program's effectiveness. Also, teachers who administered the instructional program for the movement were unanimous in their praise of it. After treating pupils in the TPS classes, one teacher reported: "Two seventh grade pupils were removed from our TPS classes and put in regular classes at the end of the first semester, and are now on the honor roll." This is the kind of case that teachers build in support of an informal educational program in which they have great faith.

Despite the possible influence of a program designed to combat dropout behavior, our Tables showed significant reliability through their power to forecast this kind of behavior among boys as early as the time at which they first register in junior high. Our Table as based upon the strength of a boy's academic tools apparently yielded the best results in forecasting early withdrawal. This Table predicted 324 or 53.2 percent of the 610 boys to withdraw from school before graduation. This prediction was based upon a cutting point at which the boy's risk probability was greater than 50 percent. At the end of their first two years in pursuit of a high school education, 32 or 9.9 percent of the high risk boys had behaved as this Table had predicted. To put it another way, 84.2 percent of all the boys who had withdrawn from school at the end of two years had been predicted to do so by this Table as early as the first week of their registration in junior high. A similar degree of reliability was maintained by the Table in forecasting the degree of dropout behavior a boy could be expected to manifest. Again, of those predicted by the Table to withdraw, 24.1 percent had begun to show withdrawal symptoms* within two years after their enrollment--had behaved as predicted. Of all the boys developing these symptoms, the Table on academic tools had properly predicted 83.3 percent of them. Table 77 presents the factual basis for these conclusions.

Table 77

Percent Distribution of 610 Negro Junior High School
1965 Registrants As to Their Failure Score
and Manifestation of Dropout Behavior
(As based upon Prediction Table of Academic Tools)

	Total		Drop-outs		3 Elements	
Failure Score	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
92.8-112.7	41	6.7	1	2.6	2	2.6
112.8-132.7	115	18.8	3	7.9	4	5.1
132.7-152.7	130	21.3	2	5.3	7	9.0
*152.8-172.7	20	3.3	0	0.0	1	1.3
172.8-192.7	67	11.0	4	10.5	8	10.2
192.8-212.7	76	12.5	5	13.2	12	15.4
212.8-232.7	91	14.9	14	36.8	23	29.5
232.8-252.7	8	1.3	0	0.0	2	2.6
252.8-272.7	62	10.2	9	23.7	19	24.3
Total	610	100.0	38	100.0	78	100.0

*Cutting point

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*Negative in three elements: averaging less than 80 days per semester in attendance; averaging D-F in school grades; and participating in less than 2 school activities

Contrary to our expectations, the Prediction Table composed of parental involvement variables was far less effective in forecasting early withdrawal symptoms among the 1965 boys. The Table predicted that 155 or 25.4 percent of these boys would discontinue their education. Approximately 10 percent of them had done as predicted by the end of their first two years. But the Table had predicted correctly only 36.8 percent of those who actually withdrew within this period. Also, 50.3 percent of those for whom early withdrawal was predicted were displaying early withdrawal symptoms by this time. Nevertheless, only 43.6 percent of this group were behaving as predicted by this Table.

Here, again, the TPS program of HISD and time apparently operate as factors in the reliability of our Parental Involvement Table. Counselors might have succeeded in intensifying the involvement of many parents in the education of their children; and this Table is probably showing differential effects of parental involvement variables as related to how long a boy remains in school before he withdraws. Our test for the time factor showed that this Table has much greater power to differentiate between later school leavers than between early ones. Our case analyses also validated this.

Table 78

Distribution of 1965 Registrants As to Failure Score and Manifestation of Dropout Behavior (Based on Parental Involvement Prediction Table)

	Total		Drop-outs		3 Elements	
Failure Score	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
100.1-180.0	55	9.0	1	2.7	2	2.5
180.1-260.0	213	34.9	10	26.3	13	16.7
260.1-340.0	187	30.7	13	34.2	29	37.2
*340.1-420.0	93	15.2	7	18.4	18	23.1
420.1-500.0	48	7.9	4	10.5	11	14.1
500.1-580.0	12	2.0	2	5.2	4	5.1
580.1-660.0	2	0.3	1	2.7	1	1.3
660.1-740.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
740.1-820.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
820.1-900.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	610	100.0	38	100.0	78	100.0

*Cutting point

The Prediction Table composed of family or home structure variables proved third best for early forecasting. It predicted that 38.9 percent of the 1965 boys would completely withdraw from school, and 29 or 12.2 percent of these had behaved as predicted by the end of their second year. Of the 38 boys who did withdraw during this period, 29 or 76.3 percent had acted as predicted by this Table. Likewise, there was some significant strength at forecasting when this Table was applied to early withdrawal symptoms. Almost one-fifth or 18.6 percent of those identified as potential Drop-outs by the Table had already begun to show withdrawal symptoms, in that they were manifesting the three elements of dropout behavior we used in our reliability tests.* Also, over half or 56.4 percent of the 78 who showed these symptoms were acting as predicted.

Table 79

Distribution of 1965 Registrants As to Failure
Scores and Dropout Behavior Manifested
(Based Upon the Personal-Social Prediction Table)

	Total		Drop-outs		3 Elements	
Failure Score	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
45.1- 75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
75.1-105.0	5	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
105.1-135.0	48	7.9	3	7.9	2	2.6
135.1-165.0	303	49.7	3	7.9	27	34.6
*165.1-195.0	117	19.2	9	23.7	12	15.4
195.1-225.0	103	16.9	9	23.7	21	26.9
225.1-255.0	24	3.9	7	18.4	9	11.5
255.1 & over	10	1.6	7	18.4	7	9.0
Total	610	100.0	38	100.0	78	100.0

*Cutting point within the interval.

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*Number of retainments sustained by the boys was not included in these tests due to the greater tolerance of school officials in this area of a child's school life.

The Prediction Table composed of personal-social variables gained second rank in predictive effectiveness. It predicted 38.9 percent of the 1965 boys to drop out of school, and 12.2 percent of these had completely withdrawn by the end of their second year in junior high. Of those who finally withdrew, 76.3 percent had acted as the Table had predicted. Similar effectiveness was shown for elements of dropout behavior. Approximately 14 percent of those whom the Table predicted to drop out of school had begun to show early withdrawal symptoms by the end of their second year. Of those showing these symptoms, 62.8 percent had acted as predicted by the Table.

Table 80

Distribution of 1965 Registrants As to Failure
Score and Dropout Behavior Manifested
(Based Upon Hybrid Prediction Table)

	Total		Drop-outs		3 Elements	
Failure Score	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
44.8- 74.7	87	14.3	2	5.3	3	3.8
74.8-104.7	161	26.4	2	5.3	8	10.2
104.8-134.7	146	23.9	9	23.7	19	24.4
134.8-164.7	106	17.4	10	26.3	17	21.8
*164.8-194.7	31	5.1	4	10.5	6	7.7
194.8-224.7	75	12.3	8	21.0	22	28.2
224.8-254.7	2	0.3	1	2.6	1	1.3
254.8-284.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
284.8-314.7	2	0.3	2	5.3	2	2.6
Total	610	100.0	38	100.0	78	100.0

*Cutting point

The Hybrid Table proved to be among the least effective for early prediction. It predicted that 18 percent of the 1965 boys would drop out of school before finishing high school, and 13.6 had behaved according to this prediction at the end of their second year. Nevertheless, only 39.5 percent of the actual Drop-outs within this population actually behaved as the Table had predicted. Almost three-tenths of the predicted Drop-out group (28.2 percent) had begun to show withdrawal symptoms by the end of their second year, but only 39.7 percent of this group had behaved according to the prediction of this Table.

These methods of testing reliability, though elementary in nature, go some distance toward indicating the instability one can expect from actuarial methods of predicting the behavior of American school children. Prediction Tables, at best, can only be a supplement to clinical analysis. They serve far better than a guess, however, and a counselor can find them quite useful in spotting some of the major stumbling blocks that may stand in the way of a child's adequate adjustment to his school enviornment.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This work, in a larger sense, has been an attempt to extend our understanding of the problems of American education through the application of social science methods. An endeavor to do this was made through the development of a sociological theory according to which dropout behavior can be explained, and through an attempt to delineate variables through which this kind of behavior can be predicted early enough to abort its occurrence. Some support was gleaned from the works of previous scholars, who, attempting to establish dependable relationships between certain social characteristics of American school children and particular kinds of educational problems they encounter, incidentally provided potential variables for further experimentation and sociological inquiry.

Two newer steps have been attempted. One was the method of veering away from the more atomistic and particularistic approaches previously employed; the other was that of examining selected characteristics of children as these qualities grew out of each child's social-cultural experiences, and as they operate, for success or failure, within the context of each child's exposure to the demands he encounters at school. Viewing school children as personalities shaped through earlier social-cultural experiences, and sensitive to the strength of a backlog of support supplied by their primary world, the work conceived dropout behavior within the general framework of educational maladjustment. The maladjustment was identified as an expression of the differential responses manifested by children who encounter school demands in excess of their preparations for meeting them.

The theoretical model was built around five conceptual tools: Stay-in and Drop-out population types; the pressure of school demands; differential responses; dropout behavior; and individual preparation. In its operational sense, the model implies that the pressures of school demands filter to a school child through the degree of adequacy of his preparations for meeting them, and elicit from him differential responses that reflect whether he is behaving as a Stay-in or a Drop-out. Converted to mathematical variables, with dropout behavior representing the dependent one, a series of matrices was developed according to which the degree and significance of relationship between the variables could be measured and the power of the independent ones to predict the dependent could be assessed. Through the use of the Index of Predictive Association for nominal data, two sets of correlations were computed. One set represented the degree of relationship between independent variables and attendance status--whether a child was a Stay-in or Drop-out; the other represented the degree of relationship between these variables and the degree of dropout behavior which a child manifested--the degree of his regularity of school attendance, his average school grade, the number of retainments he sustained, and the number of school activities in which he engaged while in school. Those independent variables best surviving direct and intercorrelation tests were made to constitute a series of Prediction Tables built around the experiences of 788 Negro boys who entered junior high school in 1958 and were to have graduated in 1964. An attempt to test the reliability of these Tables was made by applying them to a sample population of 610 Negro boys who entered junior high school in 1965 and whose educational destiny--as to whether they would behave as Stay-in or Drop-out--was determined at the time of their registration. Obviously, this reliability test had to be confined to two years of school experience rather than the six on which the Tables were built.

A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A test of the validity of our theoretical position was made through several steps. First, there was an attempt to define the "demands of the school environment" as a complex of stimuli to which pupils who attend school are made to respond, and to identify dropout behavior, our dependent variable, as an objective fact.

As indicated by school officials and teachers, the school enviornment was basically a system of demands imposed as a regulating force upon the lives of pupils. It was a series of expectations requiring that pupils not only abide by the general rules of conduct as laid down by the institution, but also that they attend school regularly, achieve satisfactorily while there, progress year by year from one grade to another, and participate in school activities. It was a series of pressures to conform that was backed by formal and informal sanctions.

These pressures, though objectively the same for each boy, were perceived differentially by Stay-ins and Drop-outs, and thereby elicited differential responses from them. When the boys were classified as to their attendance status (whether Stay-in or Drop-out) on the one hand, and their degree of compliance with teacher expectations on the other, the distributions supplied correlations of sufficient strength to afford the prediction of the former from the latter. The Stay-in was shown to be the boy who had attended school 80 days or more per semester, had maintained a grade-point average of A-C, was never retained more than one time during his high school career, and had participated in two or more school activities. He had exceeded the expectations of his teachers, and had shown himself to be a conforming American school child. In falling below these expectations, the Drop-out had challenged the normative line that his teachers had drawn, and become a school deviant. Since a boy's attendance status could be predicted through the kind of response he gave to these school demands, we were able to identify four phases of his school record as indicators of the degree of dropout behavior he manifested. These were: (1) the regularity of his school attendance, (2) the level of his semester grade-point average, (3) his number of retainments, and (4) his number of school activities. These we called "elements of dropout behavior."

When we classified boys according to their attendance status and elements of dropout behavior as based upon the record of their first semester in junior high school, relatively high correlations were maintained. In fact, the correlations were sufficiently dependable to make it possible for a counselor, using these elements, to have predicted a boy's attendance status at the start of his high school career. These correlations indicated that the boys had entered junior high school as two different population types; that it was not the junior high school that had made them that way. Our first two hypotheses were thereby supported.

Second, there was an attempt to delineate and objectify those characteristics of the boys that accounted for their differences in type. The first set to appear were those qualities in the social-cultural background of the boys that, though common to both types, also affected the types differentially. Contrary to what ecological literature tends to suggest, Stay-ins and Drop-outs had been exposed to the same degrees of areal disorganization, but had responded differentially to them. When the boys were distributed according to indices of areal disorganization derived from the socio-economic characteristics of the city blocks in which they resided, no significant differences between the two types of populations were observed. When, holding population type constant, each of these indices was correlated with elements of dropout behavior, however, it was the Drop-out type that sustained the higher correlations. It became apparent that Drop-outs had been more vulnerable to the force of areal disorganization than had Stay-ins. Also, but this time contrary to much of the literature dealing with the educational participation of American school children, many boys having similar degrees of academic adequacy had likewise responded differentially. Small degrees of relationship were gleaned from the correlation of a boy's test scores with his elements of dropout behavior. But when population type was held constant, Drop-outs sustained higher correlations. Except in IQ, where significant correlations were derived without regard for type, Drop-outs appeared more vulnerable to academic inadequacy than did Stay-ins.

Certain characteristics that grew out of a boy's social-cultural experiences and came to constitute the main anchorages of his primary world emerged as discriminative factors. These characteristics, instead of being forces against which a boy was more or less insulated, supplied the insulation itself and became the variables according to which a boy's degree of dropout behavior could be predicted. They fell into four sets: (1) certain qualities of academic adequacy, (2) family structure, (3) parental involvement, and (4) personal-social relations. Once the boys were scored according to these sets of characteristics, and were in turn distributed according to their attendance status and degrees of dropout behavior, four Tables according to which type of status and type of behavior could be predicted were made possible. As hypothecated, Tables built from parental involvement characteristics and personal-social relations proved to be the more effective predictive instruments.

Third, there was an attempt to test the reliability of these instruments. Using scoring guides that had been developed through use of the 1958-64 population of boys, each of 610 boys who entered junior high school September 1965 was interviewed and scored for the purpose of predicting the attendance status they represented and the degree of dropout behavior they could be expected to manifest. Each Table predicted the educational destiny of a boy with sufficient accuracy to be of help to a counselor who seeks to spot potential Drop-outs and to abort their withdrawal from school. School records and family structure variables seem to predict early school leavers better; parental involvement variables and personal-social relations seem to predict the late leavers better.

CONCLUSIONS

Dropout behavior is a type of education that is expressed by school children who meet school demands in excess of their preparations for handling them. Rather than being a direct product of the school climate, it is a child's response to that climate. Caught within the vortex of a system of pressure expectations emanating from the authority structure of the American school system, pupils find their degree of tolerance for being regulated constantly under severe test. Those who meet the test become Stay-ins and remain to graduate; those who fail become Drop-outs.

The reasons for this differential response to school pressure are of two kinds, and both suggest the degree of a child's prior preparations for being so tested. One kind, originating out of a child's social-personal conditioning, becomes a complex of character traits that insulate a child against or expose him to academic and areal inadequacies that he may share with other children. Another kind, also developed through personal-social conditioning, constitutes a system of support that either fails or succeeds as a stimulant behind a child's educational career. Academic adequacy and stable family structure seem to be a child's first line of defense. The involvement of his parents in his educational career and the type of personal-social relations he maintains with his peers, however, seem to be his second and stronger bulwark against the eroding effects school demands can have upon a child's character structure.

Evidence of the weight of these reasons rests upon the power of the variables they symbolize to predict the degree of maladjustment a child can be expected to show. The variables can be used to develop Tables that, where used clincally by a counselor, will spot potential Drop-outs early enough for therapeutic efforts to forestall their withdrawing from school.

IMPLICATIONS

After attempting a basic research, one is reluctant to make recommendations or even to suggest the practical implementations of his findings. This is so because an investigator seeks to remain objective and to avoid forcing his own values upon other people. Of the many values we all share, however, interest in the development of the American child to his fullest potentials probably stands out above the rest. Researchers, too, share this interest, and thereby justify the implications of this work which we suggest.

There was a feeling of guilt arising from our knowing as early as September 1965 that 38 Negro boys would not complete two years of junior high school. It was made even the more difficult by our knowing who these boys were: their names, parents, and many other things about the private world in which they lived. One would think, and rightly so, that since these boys were merely a sample of more than 100 like them, we would want to have interrupted their forthcoming departure from school and helped in some small way to solve one of America's greatest educational problems. To have done this would have added to the cloud that prior efforts on the part of the Houston Independent School District had hung over our test of reliability.

Now that certain factors have been shown to be predictably related to dropout behavior, there is a need to continue the test of reliability at both the statistical and clinical level. There is a more immediate need, however, to establish clinical methods that would forestall the impending withdrawal from school now being shown by a large number of Negro boys whose degree of dropout behavior places them within the danger zone. This, particularly, would be a program developed for certain Negro boys of Houston and constructed to take advantage of such theoretical understanding this work has given us about the problem of the high school Drop-out.

APPENDIX A

Form A

REGISTRATION

SURVEY OF L-7 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL NEGRO BOYS
WHO REGISTERED, SEPTEMBER 1958

1-4. Name of boy________________________________Case No.__________

5-7. Census Tract_______________ Address of boy__________________

8. Age of Boy at 1958 Registration

__1. 10 yrs.
__2. 11 yrs.
__3. 12 yrs.
__4. 13 yrs.
__5. 14 yrs.
__6. 15 yrs.
__7. 16 yrs.
__8. 17 yrs.
__9. 18 yrs.

9. Junior high school in which boy registered in September, 1958

__1. Harper
__2. Kashmere
__3. Lockett
__4. Miller
__5. Ryan
__6. Smith
__7. Washington
__8. Williams
__9. Worthing

10. January 1959 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside District
__5. Enrollment unknown

11. September 1959 Enrollment (First Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside District
__5. Enrollment unknown

12. January 1960 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside District
__5. Enrollment unknown

13. September 1960 Enrollment (First Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside District
__5. Enrollment unknown

14. January 1961 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside District
__5. Enrollment unknown

15. Change of School 1958 through 1961

__1. No change
__2. One change
__3. Two changes
__4. Three changes
__5. Four changes
__6. Five changes

16. September 1961 Enrollment (First Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in any school
__2. Enrolled in junior high school in District
__3. Enrolled in junior high school out of District
__4. Enrolled in Kashmere Senior High School
__5. Enrolled in Washington Senior High School
__6. Enrolled in Worthing Senior High School
__7. Enrolled in Wheatley Senior High School
__8. Enrolled in Yates Senior High School
__9. Enrolled in Senior High School out of District
__0. Enrollment unknown

17. January 1962 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside district
__5. Enrollment unknown

18. September 1962 Enrollment (First Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside of District
__5. Enrollment unknown

19. January 1963 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside of District
__5. Enrollment unknown

20. September 1963 Enrollment (First Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside of District
__5. Enrollment unknown

21. January 1964 Enrollment (Second Semester)

__1. Did not enroll in school
__2. Enrolled in same school
__3. Enrolled in different school in District
__4. Enrolled outside of District
__5. Enrollment unknown

22. Changes in School 1961 through 1964

__1. Did not register in any school during period
__2. No change
__3. One change
__4. Two changes
__5. Three changes
__6. Four changes
__7. Five changes

23-24. Boy's intellectual ability as measured in terms of IQ at first test in junior high school

__1. 20-29
__2. 30-39
__3. 40-49
__4. 50-59
__5. 60-69
__6. 70-79
__7. 80-89
__8. 90- 99
__9. 100-109
__10. 110-119
__11. 120-129
__12. 130-139
__13. 140-149
__14. 150-159

25. Boy's grade achievement level (Mathematical Reasoning)

__1. 3.0-3.9
__2. 4.0-4.9
__3. 5.0-5.9
__4. 6.0-6.9
__5. 7.0-7.9
__6. 8.0-8.9
__7. 9.0-9.9
__8. 10.0-10.9
__9. 11.0-11.9
__0. 12.0-12.9

26. Boy's grade achievement level (Mathematical Computation)

__1. 3.0-3.9
__2. 4.0-4.9
__3. 5.0-5.9
__4. 6.0-6.9
__5. 7.0-7.9
__6. 8.0-8.9
__7. 9.0-9.9
__8. 10.0-10.9
__9. 11.0-11.9
__0. 12.0-12.9

27. Boy's grade achievement level (Spelling)

__1. 3.0-3.9
__2. 4.0-4.9
__3. 5.0-5.9
__4. 6.0-6.9
__5. 7.0-7.9
__6. 8.0-8.9
__7. 9.0-9.9
__8. 10.0-10.9
__9. 11.0-11.9
__0. 12.0-12.9

28. Boy's grade achievement level (Language)

__1. 3.0-3.9
__2. 4.0-4.9
__3. 5.0-5.9
__4. 6.0-6.9
__5. 7.0-7.9
__6. 8.0-8.9
__7. 9.0-9.9
__8. 10.0-10.9
__9. 11.0-11.9
__0. 12.0-12.9

29. Boy's grade achievement (Reading Comprehension)

__1. 3.0-3.9
__2. 4.0-4.9
__3. 5.0-5.9
__4. 6.0-6.9
__5. 7.0-7.9
__6. 8.0-8.9
__7. 9.0-9.9
__8. 10.0-10.9
__9. 11.0-11.9
__0. 12.0-12.9

30. Boy's retainment rate---number of times retained since entering junior high school

__1. None
__2. One
__3. Two
__4. Three
__5. Four

FORM A- 5

SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT RECORD
(To be Coded)

Year and Semester	School Grades					No. School Days Attended
	A's	B's	C's	D's	F's	
September 1958						
January 1959						
September 1959						
January 1960						
September 1960						
January 1961						
September 1961						
January 1962						
September 1962						
January 1963						
September 1963						
January 1964						
TOTALS						

Home Schedule Form B

Survey of Junior High School Negro Boys Who Registered, 1958

Boy's Name____Case No.________

Boy's Address ____________________________________

36. With whom boy is now living

__1. Both real parents
__2. Mother and stepfather
__3. Mother only
__4. Father and stepmother
__5. Father only
__6. Grandparents
__7. Other relatives
__8. None of these

37. With whom was boy living when he entered Junior High School, 1958

__1. Both real parents
__2. Mother and stepfather
__3. Mother only
__4. Father and stepmother
__5. Father only
__6. Grandparents
__7. Other relatives
__8. None of these

38. Number of changes in those with whom he lives since registering in Junior High School, 1958

__1. No change
__2. One change
__3. Two changes
__4. Three changes
__5. Four changes
__6. Five changes
__7. Six changes
__8. Seven changes

39. Using head of household with whom boy now lives as father, check how many years of schooling he has:

__1. No regular schooling
__2. Less than four years
__3. 4-7 years
__4. 8 yrs. or more, but did not graduate from high school
__5. Graduated from high school
__6. Some college
__7. Graduated from college
__8. Professional or graduate school
__9. Other formal training after high school, but not college
__0. Don't know

40. Using spouse of head of household with whom boy now lives as mother, check how many years of schooling she has:

__1. No regular schooling
__2. Less than four years
__3. 4-7 years
__4. 8 yrs. or more, but did not graduate from high school
__5. Graduated from high school
__6. Some college
__7. Graduated from college
__8. Professional or graduate school training
__9. Other formal schooling after high school, not college
__0. Don't know

41. Using head of household with whom boy lived, 1958, as father, check how many years of schooling he has:

__1. No regular schooling
__2. Less than four years
__3. 4-7 years
__4. 8 yrs. or more, but did not graduate from high school
__5. Graduated from high school
__6. Some college
__7. Graduated from college
__8. Professional or graduate school training
__9. Other formal training after high school, not college
__0. Don't know

42. Using spouse of head of household with whom boy lived, 1958, as mother, check how many years of schooling she has:

__1. No regular schooling
__2. Less than four years
__3. 4-7 years
__4. 8 yrs. or more, but did not graduate from high school
__5. Graduated from high school
__6. Some college
__7. Graduated from college
__8. Professional or graduate school training
__9. Other formal training after high school, not college
__0. Don't know

43. Check the following which comes closest to describing the kind of work head of household (taken as father) was doing when boy first entered junior high school, 1958:

__1. Was not in the labor force (was attending school, etc.)
__2. Was doing laboring work (such as plumber's helper, other unskilled)
__3. Was a service worker (Barber, waiter, policeman, house servant, etc.)
__4. Operated a machine or did mechanical work (garage mechanic, etc.)
__5. Was a foreman or skilled tradesman (as carpenter, etc.)
__6. Was a sales worker (such as salesman or store clerk)
__7. Was a clerical or office worker in a business, government, etc.
__8. Ran a business of his own
__9. Was a manager, official, or executive of a business, government, etc.
__0. Was a professional worker, such as lawyer, doctor, etc.
__x. Was unemployed
Specific job:________________________________

44. Was the mother employed outside the home at that time?

__1. No
__2. Yes, part-time
__3. Yes, full-time

45. Check the following which comes closest to describing kind of work spouse of head of household (taken as mother) was doing when boy first entered junior high, 1958.

__1. Was not in labor force full time
__2. Was doing laboring work
__3. Was a service worker
__4. Was operating a machine
__5. Was foreman or skilled tradesman (as seamstress)
__6. Was sales worker
__7. Was a clerical or office worker
__8. Ran a business of her own
__9. Was a manager, official, or executive
__0. Was a professional worker
__x. Was unemployed
Specific job:________________________________

46. Using head of household with whom boy now lives as father, check the following which comes closest to describing the type of work he does:

__1. Is not in labor force
__2. Is doing laboring work
__3. Is service worker
__4. Is operating a machine
__5. Is foreman or skilled craftsman
__6. Is sales worker
__7. Is clerical or office worker
__8. Runs a business of his own
__9. Is a manager, official, or executive
__0. Is a professional worker
__x. Is unemployed
Specific job:______________________________

47. Using spouse of head of household with whom boy now lives as mother, check whether mother is now employed outside the home:

__1. No
__2. Yes, part-time
__3. Yes, full-time

48. Using spouse of head of household with whom boy now lives as mother, check following which comes closest describing kind of work she is now doing:

__1. Is not in labor force
__2. Is doing laboring work
__3. Is service worker
__4. Is operating a machine
__5. Is foreman or skilled tradesman
__6. Is sales worker
__7. Is clerical or office worker
__8. Run a business of her own
__9. Is a manager, official, or executive
__0. Is a professional worker
__x. Is unemployed
Specific job:______________________________

49. Number of younger pre-school children in household when first registered, 1958:

__1. None
__2. One
__3. Two
__4. Three
__5. Four
__6. Five
__7. Over five

50. Number of younger school children in household when first registered, 1958:

__1. None
__2. One
__3. Two
__4. Three
__5. Four
__6. Five
__7. Over five

51. Number of older school children in household when first registered, 1958:

__1. None
__2. One
__3. Two
__4. Three
__5. Four
__6. Five
__7. Over five

52. Check present source of family income

__1. Wages from father only
__2. Wages from mother only
__3. Wages from both parents
__4. Wages from father and children
__5. Wages from mother and children
__6. Wages from father, mother, and children
__7. From relief only
__8. From mother and relief
__9. From children and relief
__0. From parents, children, and relief
__x. From father and relief

53. Check whether boy has official delinquency

__1. Had official delinquency while in school
__2. Had his official delinquency since leaving school
__3. Had no official delinquency since leaving school
__4. Had no official delinquency before or since leaving school

BOY'S SCHEDULE*

FORM C

1-4. Name of Boy____
Boy's Current Address_______________________________
5-7. Case No.__________________________Census Tract__________

23. If people of this community were rating you and your family, which of these ratings do you think they would give you? Read over each with boy before allowing him to select one:

__1. Very good, a top family
__2. Above average, looked up to
__3. About average, fairly good
__4. Just so-so
__5. Rather poor reputation

a. What do you think about the kind of family you have? (Probe)____
____
____
____

24. How satisfied are you with the kind of person you are? Pick out one of these that you think best answers this question. Read over each before allowing boy to select:

__1. I am downright dissatisfied with myself
__2. I am quite dissatisfied with myself
__3. I am somewhat dissatisfied with myself
__4. I am satisfied with myself in most ways
__5. I am completely satisfied with myself

a. If you had your way, and could be exactly the kind of person you want to be, what kind of person would that be? Tell me about it. (Probe)______________________
____
____
____

25. If you had studied hard and done your very best in school, tell me honestly, which of these grades would be your average? Let boy see the list of grades and pick out one:

__1. A+
__2. A
__3. A-
__4. B+
__5. B
__6. B-
__7. C+
__8. C
__9. C-
__0. D
__x. F

---

*Administered to boy and parents separately.

26. If people who know you were rating you, which of these ratings do you think they would give you? Let boy see ratings before answering:

__1. The kind of son they would want
__2. A boy they would want their son to be like
__3. A boy they would want their son to play with
__4. A typical boy
__5. A little too rough for their son to play with
__6. A boy they would try to keep their son away from
__7. A boy they would like to see the police after

27. If you made a decision about a very important thing all by yourself, which of these do you think would happen? Read them to boy before allowing him to answer:

__1. Everything would come out all right
__2. Most likely it would be O.K.
__3. Maybe it would come out all right and maybe it wouldn't
__4. Most likely it would be a flop
__5. It would be a mess

28. Suppose you had to choose between being an excellent student--making all A's--and being very popular (as a good athlete or something) and making all C's. Which would you select?

__1. All-A student
__2. All-C student

29. If you could pick the kind of work you would like best to do, what would that be?______________________________
____
____

30. What would you say was the main reason why you stayed in school as long as you did? Be frank with me. DON'T PROBE.
____
____
____

31. (For DO's Only) As you see it now, what was the main reason you stopped going to school? DON'T PROBE:______________
____
____
____

32. Name the boys whom you ran with mostly when you were in high school:

33. Which ones stopped before finishing?

34. Which ones went to college or are entering college this fall?

35. Can you think of a time when something happened to you to make you really feel good about going to school? Think hard. (Do not PROBE, but let boy think)

___1. Yes ___2. No

a. (If yes) Tell me about it--what it was, how you were involved, and what there was about it that made you feel good

36. Can you think of a time when something happened to make you really feel bad about going to school? Think hard. (Do not PROBE, but let boy think)

___1. Yes ___2. No

a. (If yes) Tell me about it--what it was, how you were involved, and what there was about it that made you feel bad

37. In general, what did your father consider to be satisfactory grades for you?

__1. All A's
__2. A's and B's
__3. All B's
__4. B's and C's
__5. All C's
__6. C's and D's

a. How do you know what kind of grades your father wanted you to make? (Probe even if parents are not together)
____
____
____
____

38. In general, what did your mother consider to be satisfactory grades for you?

__1. All A's
__2. A's and B's
__3. All B's
__4. B's and C's
__5. All C's
__6. C's and D's

a. How do you know what kind of grades your mother wanted you to make? (Probe even if parents are not together)
____
____
____
____

39. Did your father ever get after you about your grades?

___1. Yes
___2. No

a. (If yes) What did he do? PROBE________________________
____
____
____

40. Did your mother ever get after you about your grades?

___1. Yes
___2. No

a. (If yes) What did she do? PROBE________________________
____
____
____

41. Which one of these best says how your father felt about your leaving school before finishing:

__1. Would like for me to quit
__2. Didn't care
__3. Would try to talk me out of it
__4. Wouldn't let me quit

42. Now let us go to your mother. Which of these best says how she felt about your leaving school before finishing:

__1. Would like for me to quit
__2. Didn't care
__3. Would try to talke me out of it
__4. Wouldn't let me quit

43. Which of these best describes how close you are to your father? Do not probe, read and let boy choose:

__1. I do not know my father at all
__2. I do not know my father very well
__3. My father and I make it all right
__4. My father and I have quite a bit of fun together
__5. I think my old man is tops

a. Tell me how you feel about your father. PROBE.

____
____
____
____

44. Which of these best describes how close you are to your mother? Do not probe, but read and let boy choose:

__1. I do not know my mother at all
__2. I do not know my mother very well
__3. My mother and I make it all right
__4. My mother and I have quite a bit of fun together
__5. I think my mom is tops

a. Tell me how you feel about your mother. PROBE.

____
____
____
____

45. There are usually a lot of activities around school that don't deal directly with classes and studying. Which of these did you belong to? May check more than one:

__1. Athletics
__2. General organizations (Student Council, etc.)
__3. Subject matter clubs (history, Spanish, etc.)
__4. Choral or music groups
__5. Service clubs (Library, traffic, etc.)
__6. Publications (Newspaper, yearbook, etc.)

46. There are some clubs that are for high school scholarship. Did you ever belong to one of these?

___1. Yes ___2. No

47. Did you ever take any honors for being the best or one of the best in school for something?

___1. Yes ___2. No

48. When you think of being with other people, which one of these best describes how you feel? Let boy hear all of them and pick his answer:

__1. I very much prefer being alone
__2. I prefer being alone
__3. I slightly prefer being alone
__4. I slightly prefer being together with others
__5. I prefer being together with others
__6. I very much prefer being together with others

49. Now, the chances that a Negro can get a job doing anything he knows how to do well are: Let boy select after naming categories:

__1. The same as a white person
__2. Almost as good as are the chances of a white person
__3. Better than they once were
__4. Much less than those of a white person
__5. Less than those of a white person who knows less than he does

50. Now, lets have some fun. I am going to show you a picture. I want you to look at this picture and tell me the most interesting story you can think up about it. Tell me what seems to have gone on before; what is happening now; and how it will all come out.

__1. Record Story #1
__2. Record Story #2
__3. Record Story #3
__4. Record Story #4

ITEMS*OF EARLY SOCIALIZATION AS APPEARED IN SCHEDULE E

D. About Training Children in N-Achievement

1. Here are some tasks that some parents require of their children as they are growing up. Which of these and at what age did you require of (use name of boy) when he was growing up?

    a. Putting away his clothes____Age____
    b. Picking up his own toys_____Age____
    c. Running errands to nearby store____Age____
    d. Dressing himself completely____Age____
    e. Going to movies alone____Age____
    f. Washing dishes____Age____

2. When (use name of boy) was pre-school age, which of the following did you do and how often?

Activities	Often	Seldom	Never
Read stories to him at bed time			
Practiced reading or alphabets			
Took him to Zoo, Museum, etc.			
Directed him in cutting out paper objects			

---

*Other such items were similarly arranged and space was provided on back of form for field notes.

APPENDIX B

Table B-1

Percent Distribution of 200 Negro Teachers As to Educational Level of Their Parents*

Educational Level	Father (in percent)	Mother (in percent)
Some Grade School	20.0	12.0
Grade School (8 yrs.)	15.0	11.0
Some High School	25.0	24.0
High School Graduate	10.0	16.0
Some College	15.0	16.0
College Graduate	10.0	12.0
Postgraduate	5.0	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0

*Six teachers omitted, refused to answer

Table B-2

Percent Distribution of Teachers As to Occupational Class of Parents

Occupational Class	Father (in percent)	Mother (in percent)
Professional	14.0	20.0
Managerial or Business	11.0	2.0
Clerical or Sales	6.0	4.0
Skilled	16.0	3.0
Operative, Service, Laborer	53.0	38.0
Housewife		33.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Table B-3

Percent Distribution of 206 Teachers According to Their Place of Birth As Compared With That of Their Parents

Place of Birth	Teacher	Father	Mother
Houston	35.4	6.2	4.5
Other City in Texas	45.3	60.7	57.0
Out of State	19.3	33.1	38.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table B-4

Distribution of 206 Teachers As to Degrees Held, by Sex

Degrees	Male	Female	Total
Bachelor	45	85	130
Master	29	47	76
Total	74	132	206

Table B-5

Distribution of 206 Teachers As to Their Previous Occupational Class

Occupational Class	Number	Percent
None	92	44.6
Professional	10	4.9
Managerial or Business	6	2.9
Clerical or Sales	45	21.8
Skilled	10	4.9
Operative, Service, Laborer	35	17.0
Military Service	8	3.9
Total	206	100.0

Table B-6

Distribution of Teachers As to Expectations of Achievement in Mathematical Computation and Spelling As Compared with Actual Achievement of Stay-ins and Drop-outs

Grade Level	Mathematical Computation			Spelling		
	Teacher Expectation	Achievement Level		Teacher Expectation	Achievement Level	
		Stay-in	Drop-out		Stay-in	Drop-out
3.0- 3.9	0.7	0.3	11.2	0.7	4.2	20.6
4.0- 4.9	2.1	0.6	15.5	1.3	5.5	17.0
5.0- 5.9	8.9	5.7	20.9	10.3	12.2	12.7
6.0- 6.9	21.2	15.1	25.2	20.0	23.9	20.0
7.0- 7.9	39.0	35.9	18.0	39.0	23.9	18.5
8.0- 8.9	17.1	24.2	6.8	15.7	15.5	7.1
9.0- 9.9	8.9	10.5	1.4	10.3	8.5	3.1
10.0-10.9	1.4	4.5	1.0	2.0	3.8	0.5
11.0-11.9	0.7	2.6		0.7	2.0	0.5
12.0-12.9	0.0	0.6			0.5	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Semantic Differential Scales

G. Listed below are pairs of words that you might use to describe how you feel about the boy who has irregular attendance, makes low grades, is retained, and is inactive so far as school activities are concerned. By placing an "X" anywhere along each line, you can indicate how clearly the words of each pair describe the way you feel about this boy. For example, if the pair of words were "happy" and "sad," and you thought this boy somewhat sad, you might place your "X" as follows:

happy _____ _____ _____ __X__ _____ sad

If you thought he was very happy, you might place your "X" this way......

happy __X__ _____ _____ _____ _____ sad

Please place your "X" anywhere in the five positions between each pair of words. Remember, this describes the way you feel about this boy.

excusable _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ inexcusable

interesting _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ dull

smart _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ dumb

one who would waste your time _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one who could well use your time

one who is shirking his responsibilities _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one who is facing his responsibilities

one to remember _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one to forget

one who won't make it _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one who will make it

one who is unruly _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one who is ruly

one who is holding back the race _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ one who is advancing the race

B-7 Cont.

one who should be in a special school ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ one who should be in your school

one who should be put in a special class ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ one who should be put in your class

B-8 Table 5A

Numerical Frequencies of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Their Average Daily Attendance and Attendance Status

Average Daily	Attendance Status		
Attendance	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
0-19	0	20	20
20-39	0	28	28
40-59	4	78	82
60-79	61	160	221
80 and over	329	108	437
Total	394	394	788

B-9 Table 5B

Numerical Frequencies of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Their First Semester Attendance and Attendance Status

First Semester	Attendance Status		
Attendance	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
0-19	1	23	24
20-39	1	24	25
40-59	7	27	34
60-79	48	140	188
80 and over	337	180	517
Total	394	394	788

B-10 Table 6

Numerical Frequencies of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Cumulative Semester Grade-Point Average and Attendance Status

Average Grades	Attendance Status: Stay-ins	Attendance Status: Drop-outs	Total
A=4	16	2	18
B=3	76	29	105
C=2	259	120	379
D=1	43	182	225
F=0	0	61	61
Total	394	394	788

B-11 Table 7

Numerical Frequencies of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Grade-Point Average for First Semester and Attendance Status

First Semester Grade-Point Average	Attendance Status: Stay-ins	Attendance Status: Drop-outs	Total
A=4	32	1	33
B=3	145	48	193
C=2	185	186	371
D=1	29	109	138
F=0	3	50	53
Total	394	394	788

B-12 Table 8

Numerical Frequencies of 394 Stay-ins and 394 Drop-outs As to Number of Retainments and Attendance Status

Number Retainments	Attendance Status Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
None	347	212	559
One	25	55	80
Two	20	55	75
Three & over	2	72	74
Total	394	394	788

B-13 Table 9

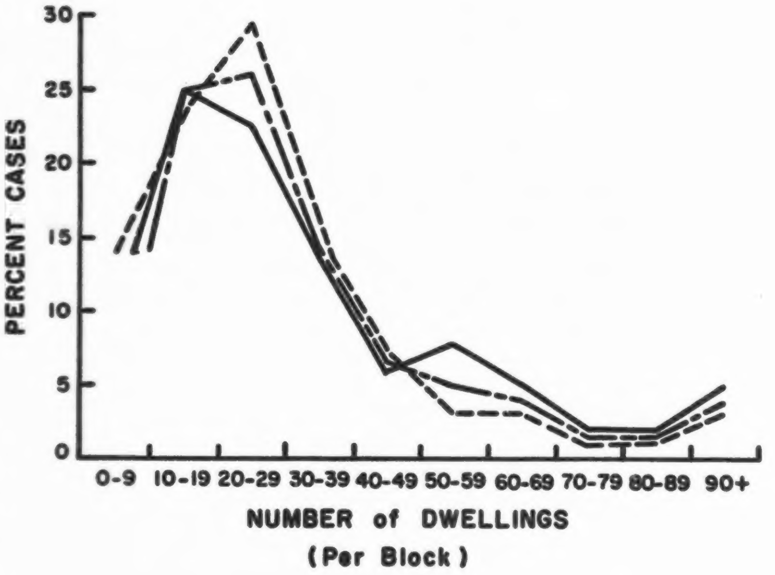
Numerical Frequencies of Boys According to Number of School Activities and Attendance Status

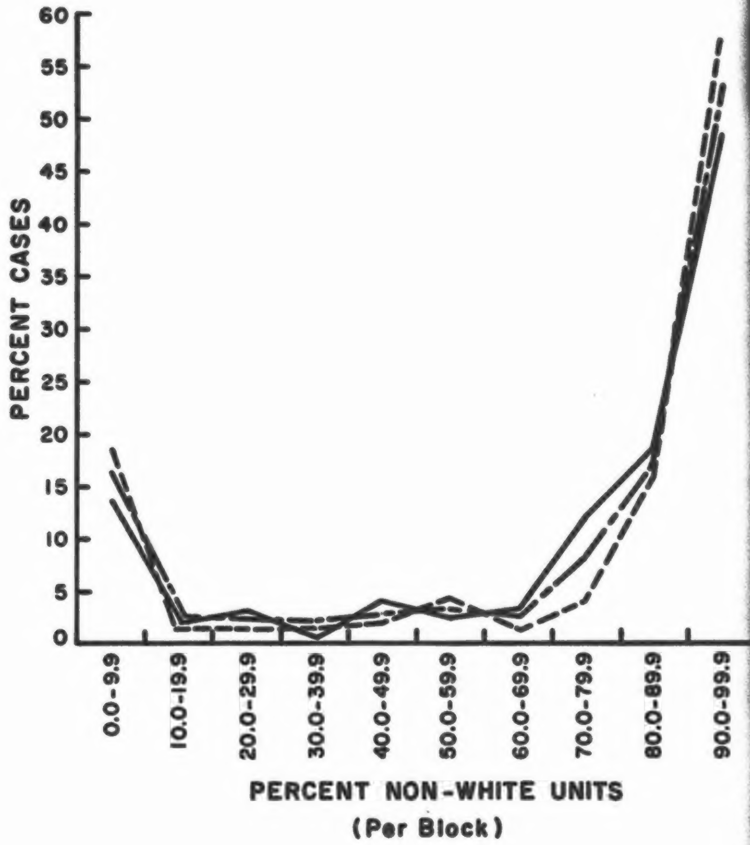
No. School Activities	Attendance Status Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
None	43	116	159
One	80	153	233
Two	128	69	197
Three	82	25	107
Four & over	61	31	92
Total	394	394	788

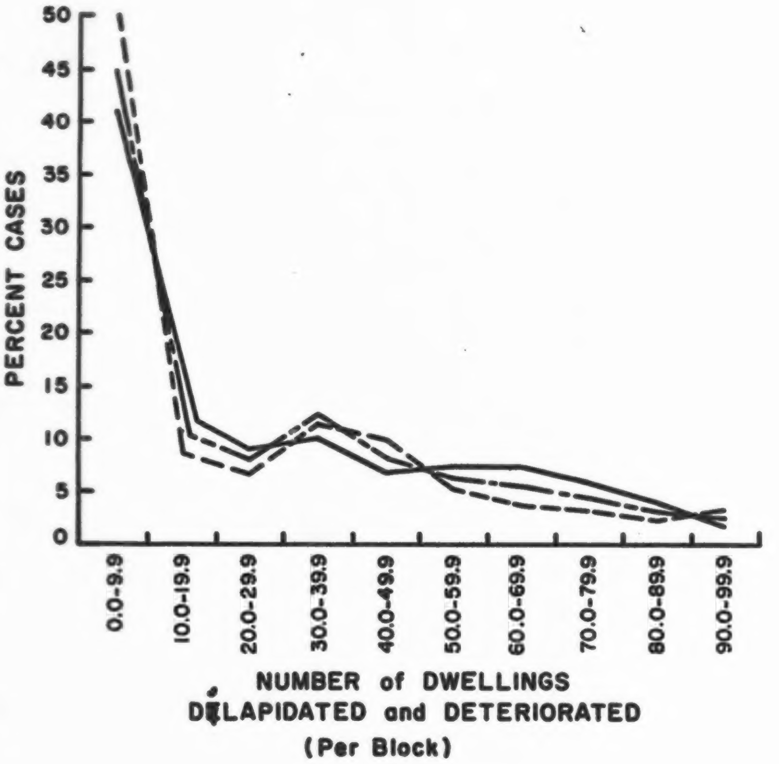
APPENDIX C

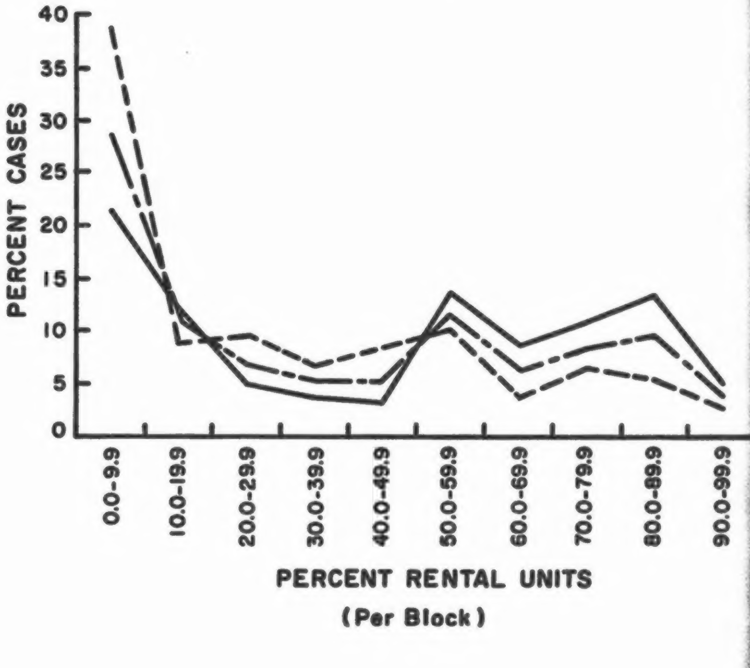
C-1 Chart 6 (Enlarged)

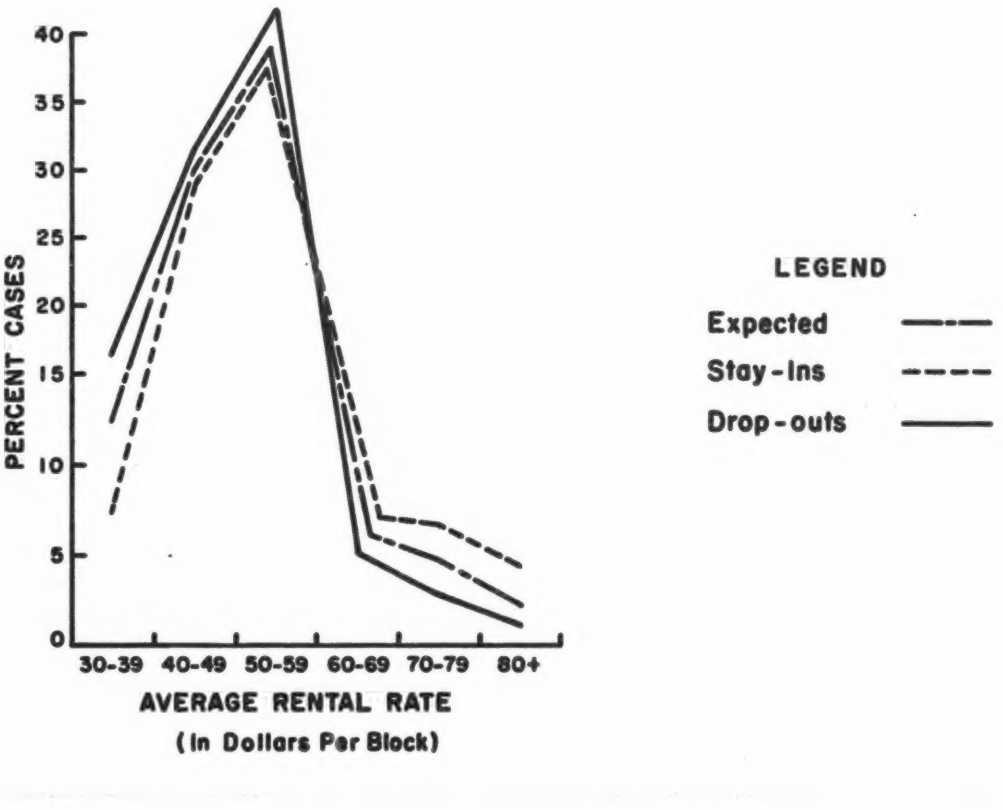
Percent Distribution of Stay-ins and Drop-outs As to the Rate of Occurrence of Selected Socio-economic Characteristics in the Blocks Where They Resided


PERCENT CASES
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
0-9
10-19
20-29
30-39
40-49
50-59
60-69
70-79
80-89
90+
NUMBER of DWELLINGS
(Per Block)


PERCENT CASES
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
0.0-9.9
10.0-19.9
20.0-29.9
30.0-39.9
40.0-49.9
50.0-59.9
60.0-69.9
70.0-79.9
80.0-89.9
90.0-99.9
PERCENT NON-WHITE UNITS
(Per Block)


PERCENT CASES
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
0.0-9.9
10.0-19.9
20.0-29.9
30.0-39.9
40.0-49.9
50.0-59.9
60.0-69.9
70.0-79.9
80.0-89.9
90.0-99.9
NUMBER of DWELLINGS
DELAPIDATED and DETERIORATED
(Per Block)


PERCENT CASES
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
0.0-9.9
10.0-19.9
20.0-29.9
30.0-39.9
40.0-49.9
50.0-59.9
60.0-69.9
70.0-79.9
80.0-89.9
90.0-99.9
PERCENT RENTAL UNITS
(Per Block)


PERCENT CASES
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
30-39
40-49
50-59
60-69
70-79
80+
AVERAGE RENTAL RATE
(In Dollars Per Block)
LEGEND
Expected
Stay-Ins
Drop-outs

C-2 Table 16B

Itemized Scoring Guide for Prediction Table As Based Upon Areal Factors

Areal Factors	Percent Drop-outs
1. Number of Dwelling Units per Block	
0-29	47.6
30-59	52.5
60 and over	60.0
2. Percent Non-White Units per Block	
0-29	46.2
30-59	50.0
60 and over	50.6
3. Percent Deteriorated and Dilapidated	
0-29	48.4
30-59	49.5
60 and over	60.0
4. Percent Rental Units	
0-29	40.7
30-59	47.2
60 and over	67.0
5. Average Rental Rate	
30-39	74.1
40-59	58.3
60 and over	38.2
No Rentals	40.8

C-3 Chart 7

Distribution of Boys According to IQ and Attendance Status

IQ	Attendance Status Stay-ins	 Drop-outs	Total
50- 59	4	7	11
60- 69	4	48	52
70- 79	52	99	151
80- 89	118	88	206
90- 99	125	74	199
100-109	71	59	130
110-119	11	15	26
120-129	9	4	13
Total	394	394	788

APPENDIX D

D-1

Prediction Table for Average Days Attended As Based Upon Selected Family Structure Variables

Failure Score	Under 80 Days	80 Days and over	Total
94.2-114.1	0.0	100.0	100.0
114.2-134.1	27.3	72.7	100.0
134.2-154.1	10.0	90.0	100.0
154.2-174.1	25.0	75.0	100.0
174.2-194.1	34.6	65.4	100.0
194.2-214.1	60.9	39.1	100.0
214.2-234.1	58.1	41.9	100.0
234.2-254.1	80.0	20.0	100.0
254.2-274.1	66.7	33.3	100.0
274.2-294.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
294.2-314.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

D-2

Prediction Table for Average Grade As Based
Upon Selected Family Structure Variables

Failure Score	A-C	D-F	Total
94.2-114.1	91.7	8.3	100.0
114.2-134.1	81.8	18.2	100.0
134.2-154.1	90.0	10.0	100.0
154.2-174.1	73.0	27.0	100.0
174.2-194.1	69.6	30.4	100.0
194.2-214.1	47.8	52.2	100.0
214.2-234.1	56.3	43.7	100.0
234.2-254.1	40.0	60.0	100.0
254.2-274.1	66.7	33.3	100.0
274.2-294.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
294.2-314.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

D-3

Prediction Table for Number of Retainments As Based
Upon Selected Family Structure Variables

Failure Score	None	1+	Total
94.2-114.1	90.9	9.1	100.0
114.2-134.1	81.8	18.2	100.0
134.2-154.1	90.0	10.0	100.0
154.2-174.1	78.4	21.6	100.0
174.2-194.1	74.4	25.6	100.0
194.2-214.1	73.9	26.1	100.0
214.2-234.1	56.3	43.7	100.0
234.2-254.1	20.0	80.0	100.0
254.2-274.1	100.0	0.0	100.0
274.2-294.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
294.2-314.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

D-4

Prediction Table For Number of School Activities As Based Upon Selected Family Structure Variables

Failure Score	Under Two	Two or More	Total
94.2-114.1	20.0	80.0	100.0
114.2-134.1	34.8	65.2	100.0
134.2-154.1	45.1	54.9	100.0
154.2-174.1	42.9	57.1	100.0
174.2-194.1	69.7	30.3	100.0
194.2-214.1	77.6	22.4	100.0
214.2-234.1	64.6	35.4	100.0
234.2-254.1	75.0	25.0	100.0
254.2-274.1	80.0	20.0	100.0
274.2-294.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
294.2-314.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

APPENDIX E

E-1 Table 59A

Numerical Frequencies of Stay-ins and Drop-outs Falling in Each Sub-category of Selected Parental Involvement Variables

How Mother Feels People Rate Son	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Son they'd want	96	25	121
One they'd want son to be like	154	74	228
One they'd want son to play with	38	52	90
Typical boy	100	182	282
Too rough for son to play with	4	36	40
One to keep son away from	0	14	14
A boy for police	2	11	13
Total	394	394	788

E-2 Table 59B

Numerical Frequencies of Stay-ins and Drop-outs Falling in Each Sub-category of Selected Parental Involvement Variables

Mother's Occupational Choice for Son	Stay-ins	Drop-outs	Total
Clerical and above	198	131	329
Skilled	44	126	170
Operative, Service, Laborer	4	43	47
No choice	148	94	242
Total	394	394	788

E-3 Table 62A

Table for Predicting Average Semester Grade Through Variables of Parental Involvement (risk rates in percentages)

Failure Score	A-C	D-F	Total
100.1-180.0	92.0	8.0	100.0
180.1-260.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
260.1-340.0	84.4	15.6	100.0
340.1-420.0	60.9	39.1	100.0
420.1-500.0	52.8	47.2	100.0
500.1-580.0	40.0	60.0	100.0
580.1-660.0	12.5	87.5	100.0
660.1-740.0	28.6	71.4	100.0
740.1-820.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
820.1-900.0	nc	nc	nc

E-4 Table 62B

Table for Predicting Number of Retainments Through Variables of Parental Involvement (risk rates in percentages)

Failure Score	None	One or more	Total
100.1-180.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
180.1-260.0	97.6	2.4	100.0
260.1-340.0	81.3	18.7	100.0
340.1-420.0	56.5	43.5	100.0
420.1-500.0	75.0	25.0	100.0
500.1-580.0	52.0	48.0	100.0
580.1-660.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
660.1-740.0	14.3	85.7	100.0
740.1-820.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
820.1-900.0	nc	nc	nc

E-5 Table 62C

Table Predicting Number of School Activities Through Variables of Parental Involvement (risk rates in percentages)

Failure Score	Under 2 Activities	2 or more Activities	Total
100.1-180.0	34.9	65.1	100.0
180.1-260.0	33.7	66.3	100.0
260.1-340.0	48.7	51.3	100.0
340.1-420.0	63.8	36.2	100.0
420.1-500.0	73.1	26.9	100.0
500.1-580.0	86.2	13.8	100.0
580.1-660.0	77.3	22.7	100.0
660.1-740.0	76.9	23.1	100.0
740.1-820.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
820.1-900.0	nc	nc	nc

APPENDIX F

F-1 Table 75A

Table Predicting Average Semester Grade Through Selected Personal-Social Variables

Failure Score	A-C	D-F	Total
45.1- 75.0	91.9	8.1	100.0
75.1-105.0	91.1	8.9	100.0
105.1-135.0	75.0	25.0	100.0
135.1-165.0	34.8	65.2	100.0
165.1-195.0	36.4	63.6	100.0
195.1-225.0	46.7	53.3	100.0
225.1-255.0	16.7	83.3	100.0
255.1-285.0	0.0	100.0	100.0

F-2 Table 75B

Table Predicting Number of Retainments Through Selected Personal-Social Variables

Failure Score	None	One or more	Total
45.1- 75.0	97.3	2.7	100.0
75.1-105.0	89.7	10.3	100.0
105.1-135.0	77.8	22.2	100.0
135.1-165.0	56.5	43.5	100.0
165.1-195.0	54.5	45.5	100.0
195.1-225.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
225.1-255.0	33.3	66.7	100.0
255.1-285.0	0.0	100.0	100.0

F-3 Table 75C

Table Predicing Number School Activities Through Selected Personal-Social Variables

Failure Score	Under 2	Two or more	Total
45.1- 75.0	47.8	52.2	100.0
75.1-105.0	40.7	59.3	100.0
105.1-135.0	57.0	43.0	100.0
135.1-165.0	75.4	24.6	100.0
165.1-195.0	81.8	18.2	100.0
195.1-225.0	81.8	18.2	100.0
225.1-255.0	91.4	8.6	100.0
255.1-285.0	100.0	0.0	100.0

APPENDIX G

G-1

Hybrid Table for Predicting Average School Grade Through Selected Variables

Failure Score	A-C	D-F	Total
44.8- 74.7	94.4	5.6	100.0
74.8-104.7	97.2	2.8	100.0
104.8-134.7	96.0	4.0	100.0
134.8-164.7	100.0	0.0	100.0
164.8-194.7	76.2	23.8	100.0
194.8-224.7	57.6	42.4	100.0
224.8-254.7	47.8	52.2	100.0
254.8-284.9	9.5	90.5	100.0
284.8-314.7	20.0	80.0	100.0

G-2

Hybrid Table for Predicting Number of Retainments Through Selected Variables

Failure Score	None	1+	Total
44.8- 74.7	100.0	0.0	100.0
74.8-104.7	94.4	5.6	100.0
104.8-134.7	96.0	4.0	100.0
134.8-164.7	93.3	6.7	100.0
164.8-194.7	70.0	30.0	100.0
194.8-224.7	39.4	60.6	100.0
224.8-254.7	56.5	43.5	100.0
254.8-284.7	45.0	55.0	100.0
284.8-314.7	40.0	60.0	100.0

G-3

Hybrid Table for Predicting Number of School Activities Through Selected Variables

Failure Score	Under 2	Two or more	Total
44.8- 74.7	16.7	83.3	100.0
74.8-104.7	50.0	50.0	100.0
104.8-134.7	40.0	60.0	100.0
134.8-164.7	46.7	53.3	100.0
164.8-194.7	57.1	42.9	100.0
194.8-224.7	81.8	18.2	100.0
224.8-254.7	69.6	30.4	100.0
254.8-284.7	81.0	19.0	100.0
284.8-314.7	80.0	20.0	100.0